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NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION

BULLETIN No. 12

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL SESSION

OF THE

State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina

RALEIGH
DECEMBER 3-4, 1912

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OF THE

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL SESSION

OF THE

State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina

RALEIGH,
December 3-4, 1912

Compiled by
CLARENCE POE,
Secretary

RALEIGH, N. C.
EDWARDS & BROUGHTON PRINTING CO., STATE PRINTERS
1913

The North Carolina Historical Commission

J. Bryan Grimes, *Chairman*, Raleigh.

W. J. Peele, Raleigh.

D. H. Hill, West Raleigh.

Thomas M. Pittman, Henderson.

M. C. S. Noble, Chapel Hill.

R. D. W. Connor, *Secretary*, Raleigh.

Officers of the State Literary and Historical Association

1912.

President.....R. D. W. Connor, Raleigh.
First Vice-President.....W. P. Few, Durham.
Second Vice-President.....Miss Lida T. Rodman, Washington.
Third Vice-President.....A. C. Avery, Morganton.
Secretary-Treasurer.....Clarence Poe, Raleigh.

Executive Committee.

R. D. W. Connor, Raleigh.
W. L. Poteat, Wake Forest.
Edward K. Graham, Chapel Hill.
Thomas P. Harrison, West Raleigh
F. A. Woodard, Wilson.
W. K. Boyd, Durham.

1913.

President.....W. P. Few, Durham.
First Vice-President.....Mrs. Margaret Busbee Shipp, Raleigh.
Second Vice-President.....O. W. Blacknall, Kittrell.
Third Vice-President.....
Secretary-Treasurer.....R. D. W. Connor, Raleigh.

Executive Committee.

W. P. Few, Durham.
Thomas P. Harrison, West Raleigh.
Clarence Poe, Raleigh.
Frank Nash, Hillsboro.
Edward K. Graham, Chapel Hill.
W. K. Boyd, Durham.

PURPOSES OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

"The collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of our State literature and history;

"The encouragement of public and school libraries;

"The establishment of an historical museum;

"The inculcation of a literary spirit among our people;

"The correction of printed misrepresentations concerning North Carolina; and—

"The engendering of an intelligent, healthy State pride in the rising generation."

ELIGIBILITY TO MEMBERSHIP—MEMBERSHIP DUES.

All persons interested in its purposes are invited to become members of the Association. There are two classes of members: "Regular Members," paying $1 a year, and "Sustaining Members," paying $5 a year.

RECORD OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

(Organized October, 1900.)

Fiscal Years.	*Presidents.*	*Secretaries.*	*Paid up Membership.*
1900-1901	Walter Clark	Alex J. Feild	150
1901-1902	Henry G. Connor	Alex J. Feild	139
1902-1903	William Louis Poteat	George S. Fraps	73
1903-1904	C. Alphonso Smith	Clarence Poe	127
1904-1905	Robert W. Winston	Clarence Poe	109
1905-1906	Charles B. Aycock	Clarence Poe	185
1906-1907	W. D. Pruden	Clarence Poe	301
1907-1908	Robert Bingham	Clarence Poe	273
1908-1909	Junius Davis	Clarence Poe	311
1909-1910	Platt D. Walker	Clarence Poe	440
1910-1911	Edward K. Graham	Clarence Poe	425
1911-1912	R. D. W. Connor	Clarence Poe	479
1912-1913	W. P. Few	R. D. W. Connor	**

AWARDS OF PATTERSON MEMORIAL CUP.

1905—John Charles McNeill, for poems later reprinted in book form as "Songs, Merry and Sad." (Presentation by Theodore Roosevelt.)

1906—Edwin Mims, for "Life of Sidney Lanier." (Presentation by Fabius H. Busbee.

1907—Kemp Plummer Battle. "History of the University." (Presentation by Francis D. Winston.)

1908—Samuel A'Court Ashe. "History of North Carolina." (Presentation by Thomas Nelson Page.)

1909—Clarence Poe. "A Southerner in Europe." (Presentation by Ambassador James Bryce.)

1910—R. D. W. Connor. "Cornelius Harnett: An Essay in North Carolina History." (Presentation by T. W. Bickett.)

1911—Archibald Henderson. "Bernard Shaw." (Presentation by Hon. Lee S. Overman.)

1912—Clarence Poe. "Where Half the World is Waking Up." (Presentation by Walter H. Page.)

WHAT THE ASSOCIATION HAS ACCOMPLISHED FOR THE STATE—SUCCESSFUL MOVEMENTS INAUGURATED BY IT.

1. Rural school libraries.
2. "North Carolina Day" in the schools.
3. The North Carolina Historical Commission.
4. Vance statue in Statuary Hall (to be erected soon).
5. Fire-proof State Library and Hall of Records.
6. Civil War battlefields marked to show North Carolina's record.
7. North Carolina's war record defended and war claims vindicated.
8. The Patterson Memorial Cup.
9. Lecture Extension Work started in leading cities and towns.
10. A program of Library Extension Work begun.

**Records not complete till end of fiscal year.

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Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association

RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA, DECEMBER 3 AND 4, 1912

The Thirteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association was called to order in the Auditorium of the city of Raleigh on Tuesday evening, December 3rd, at 8 o'clock, with President R. D. W. Connor in the chair.

Prayer was offered by Rev. George W. Lay, Rector of St. Mary's School, after which President R. D. W. Connor presented his annual address as President, his subject being "The Historical Foundations of Democracy in North Carolina," a study of racial influences on the character of the Commonwealth, and of the steady growth of democratic ideas and ideals.

At the conclusion of his address, President Connor introduced to the audience Dr. Walter H. Page, editor of *The World's Work,* of New York. For several years it has been the custom of the Literary and Historical Association to invite to its session one eminent son of North Carolina who has attained distinction outside the State. Dr. Page, a native of Wake County, who began his literary career as editor of the *Raleigh Chronicle,* had been invited home for this meeting of the Association and brought a message emphasizing the fact that in order to insure the development of a great literature in North Carolina we must have the fullest possible development of our rural population. Both his address on "The Country Man," and President Connor's address, are published elsewhere in these minutes.

The evening session was brought to a close with the exercises in connection with the presentation of the Patterson Memorial Cup, awarded each year to "that resident of the State who, during the twelve months from September the first of the previous year to September the first of the year of the award, has displayed, either in prose or poetry, without regard to its length, the greatest excellence and highest literary skill and genius." Dr. Walter H. Page made the presentation on behalf of the committee, which consists of "the President of the State Literary and Historical Association, the occupants of the chairs of English Literature at the University of North Carolina, at Davidson College, at Wake Forest, and at the State A. & M. College at Raleigh, of the chairs of History at the University of North Carolina and at Trinity College."

In accepting the cup awarded him in recognition of his "Where Half the World is Waking Up," Mr. Clarence Poe said:

I can not find words to express my appreciation of this award, ennobled as it is by association with the names Dr. Page has just enumerated—McNeill and Mims and Battle and Ashe and Connor and Henderson—and "our gracious matron of letters." I can only assure you that I accept the generous judgment it symbolizes with a full understanding of the fact that, like every other recognition from one's fellows, it should be regarded not so much as an earned reward from the past as a borrowed trust for the future—a trust that I should use not for purposes of self, but in causes that look to human progress and the development of the State whose good people have ever been gracious to me beyond my deserving.

Before adjourning the meeting, President Connor read the following telegram which was turned over to him by Dr. Page:

NEW YORK, December 2, 1912.

WALTER H. PAGE,

Care State Literary and Historical Association, Raleigh, N. C.

The North Carolina Society of New York is pleased that you, one of its former presidents, are to address the State Literary and Historical Association. We ask that you act as the representative of our North Carolina Society of New York at this meeting, and that you extend the assurances of our interest to the officers of the Association. We also hope that you will obtain for us copies of the proceedings and of the addresses.

GEORGE GORDON BATTLE, *President.*
JOHN S. PRIMROSE, *Secretary.*

After adjourning the regular meeting, the members attended a reception given by the Raleigh members of the Association in honor of the out-of-town members.

MORNING SESSION, DECEMBER 4TH.

The morning session of the Literary and Historical Association opened with a reading of the Bibliography for the year by Miss Minnie Leatherman, Secretary of the State Library Commission.

Following the reading of the Bibliography, Dr. William K. Boyd presented a very valuable and suggestive paper on "Some Neglected Phases of North Carolina History." Dr. Archibald Henderson, of the University of North Carolina, the next speaker, discussed in a very able paper, "Democracy and Literature." It is to be regretted that these papers of Dr. Boyd's and Dr. Henderson's were not heard by a much larger audience, but readers who could not be present when the speeches were delivered, should not deprive themselves of the privilege of reading them, as they appear elsewhere in this Bulletin.

The addresses of the morning being completed, the Association took up the consideration of motions and resolutions and committee reports.

Mr. Frank Nash, of Hillsboro, was recognized to make the report for the Committee on Library Extension. This committee consists of Mr. George Rountree, Wilmington, Mr. Frank Nash, Hillsboro, Dr. Louis R. Wilson, Chapel Hill, Mr. J. P. Breedlove, Durham, and Mr. Thomas M. Pittman, Henderson. The members of the Association were greatly interested in the recommendations included in the report, and endorsed it enthusiastically, the only criticism being that the members of the Association generally would have had it even stronger.

The report submitted by Mr. Nash, for the committee, was as follows:

To the State Literary and Historical Association:

Your committee on the formulation of a program looking to the extension of library privileges to the entire citizenship of the State, begs leave to report as follows:

1. The part played by the modern library in the general educational advancement of a people is so highly important that North Carolina can not, without great injury to herself, fail to take advantage of all the benefits which may be secured through a further extension of its library resources.

2. The most practical and beneficial way of extending the desired privileges in other States has been through State-supported Library Commissions and well equipped State Libraries. In the majority of States where the kind of library advantages contemplated are enjoyed the work of arousing interest in the establishment of public libraries; of aiding new libraries in solving local problems; of furnishing libraries, clubs, organizations, and individuals with reference lists and information as to desired materials; of operating collections of traveling and debate libraries, is usually undertaken by library commissions. In some of the States the State Libraries, in addition to supplying the demands of the State officers, maintain well equipped reference collections from which citizens can draw for more specialized material which is not accessible in local libraries, and provide for the use of legislators and municipal officers special collections of laws and opinions relating to questions which are the subject of legislation pending in legislatures and municipalities.

3. The need in North Carolina for the further extension of these privileges is extremely urgent. The population of the State is largely rural, and it is denied the privilege of free books which the citizens of the larger towns enjoy. It is without the advantages which come from the reading of books and from the discussion of problems to which the reading of books give rise. The traveling library, made up of well selected books covering many phases of life and thought, is stimulating to the rural sections, and aids the State Departments of Education, Public Health, and Agriculture in extending their work. Again, North Carolina has few strong, centralized libraries from which organizations and individuals can borrow special books. Its citizens are consequently forced to go outside the State for material which might be furnished by the State Library. Furthermore, North Carolina is facing important legislation in subjects on which its legislators are without comparative material drawn from a number of sources. There is no bureau at the capital from which they can secure the special literature which is essential to the drafting of the wisest laws.

In view of these facts, and in view of the further facts that the North Carolina Library Commission is already doing a splendid work in general library

extension, that it is attempting to further its work by putting into operation a system of traveling libraries, and that the State Library is soon to move into quarters which will make possible, from the physical side, the extension of its usefulness as a reference and legislative reference library, your committee beg to offer for adoption the following resolutions:

1. That the State Literary and Historical Association support the North Carolina Library Commission in its effort to secure an adequate appropriation for the operation of an effective system of traveling libraries and the extension of its present work.

2. That it urge upon the Members of the Legislature the importance of more thoroughly equipping the State Library for use as a general and reference library for the State at large and special reference bureau for the Legislature, and that adequate appropriations be granted for the same.

3. That a legislative committee of three members be appointed by the President to prepare such bills or suggest such amendments to present laws as will carry into effect the recommendations contained in the foregoing resolutions.

(Signed) GEORGE ROUNTREE, *Chmn.*
FRANK NASH,
LOUIS R. WILSON,
J. P. BREEDLOVE,
THOMAS M. PITTMAN,
Committee.

Dr. Archibald Henderson was then recognized and offered a series of notable resolutions which were adopted after considerable discussion.

In speaking to the resolutions, Dr. Henderson said that if this, the Literary, as well as the Historical, Association of North Carolina is to justify in full measure its duplex title, it must take a constructive part in the crusade for culture in our State today which awaits leadership and a leader.

The resolutions follow:

1. That this Association appoint a committee, consisting of five members, men and women, to consider the problem of our State literature, and to endeavor to secure the person or persons best qualified by reason of talent and aptitude, to prepare a history of the literature of North Carolina.

2. That this Association perfect some organization by which the literary spirit in the State may be stimulated toward effective ends—through the establishment of literary clubs and the organization of those already in existence, with central headquarters in Raleigh; and the formulation, through coöperation with the Women's Clubs of North Carolina, of adequate machinery by which these clubs may have their energies definitely directed in the channel of study of native and Southern literature.

3. That this Association appoint a committee, consisting of five members, men and women, to petition the Building Committee for the reservation of adequate space in the projected new Hall of History, to be used permanently as a section devoted to the Literature of North Carolina. Furthermore, that this committee be permanent, having for its objects to honor in tangible form the literary achievements of our people, and to preserve the literary remains of our native writers of eminence. That this be done through the preservation and display, in the section aforementioned in the new Hall of History,

of portraits of our men and women of letters, autographed sets of their works, original manuscrips, letters from eminent men and women of letters testifying to the value of such literary works, medallions, busts, and all forms of suitable memorials which may keep green the memory of noble works, finely conceived and artfully executed.

4. That this Association give a new stimulus and direction to the movement, formerly inaugurated, for a system of extension lectures throughout the State.

5. That this Association send a delegated representative to the annual meetings of the North Carolina Teachers' Assembly, whose duty it shall be, as representative of this Association, to coöperate with the teachers in fostering the intelligent and consistent study of native and of Southern literature in the schools.

6. That, at future annual meetings of this Association, a portion of the program be regularly devoted to appreciations, by competent authorities, of representative figures in our native literature.

7. That this Association appoint one of the present members of the State Library Commission to serve as its representative on that Commission, in order to bring the two organizations into coöperation and to keep in mind the general purpose of ministering to and stimulating the literary consciousness of our people.

Prof. E. K. Graham then offered the following resolutions, which were adopted:

Resolved, That the State Literary and Historical Association extend through the Secretary to Mr. Walter H. Page, of New York, its appreciation and thanks for his gift of the beautiful edition of the works of O. Henry and accompanying manuscripts.

Resolved, That the telegram of good will from the North Carolina Society of New York, by the Secretary, be acknowledged with thanks and with expression of appreciation for the patriotic work now being done by that Society in New York.

The Secretary then reminded the members that the Association, in common with ordinary mortals, was suffering somewhat from the "high cost of living." This is due to the fact that in recent years the number of speakers on the program has been greatly increased, four sessions being now held whereas only one was held six years ago, while the policy of obtaining eminent speakers of national reputation for each session is necessarily attended by considerable outlay. On motion the Executive Committee was authorized to consider any plans for increasing the membership fee—in case it should be thought advisable to attempt to get funds by increase in dues rather than by enlarging the membership—with provision that before putting any plan into effect, it must be submitted to the members on a referendum for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not the sentiment in favor of the change is large enough to justify its adoption.

President Connor then announced the following committee on the nomination of officers for the ensuing year: Messrs. E. K. Graham, F. A. Woodard, T. M. Pittman, R. B. Drane, Miss Lida T. Rodman.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The afternoon session began with a "Conference on the Study and Sources of North Carolina History," Dr. W. K. Boyd, of Trinity College, presiding. Mr. Frank Nash, of Hillsboro, read a paper on "County Records as Sources of Local History," which was followed by a discussion of the same subject by Prof. Charles L. Coon, of Wilson. At the conclusion of these addresses (printed elsewhere in this bulletin) the Association adjourned to attend the exercises in connection with the presentation of the bust of Governor John M. Morehead to the State, these exercises being under the auspices of the North Carolina Historical Commission. A full report of these exercises is given as a part of this bulletin.

At five o'clock the Woman's Club of Raleigh tendered a reception to the members of the Association at which Mr. Edwin Markham was the guest of honor.

EVENING SESSION.

The evening session began with a musical number, a trio, "Maytime," by the Misses Day and Miss Haynes, of Meredith College. President Connor then introduced Mr. Josephus Daniels, editor of the *News and Observer,* who delivered an address, which had been expected at a previous session of the Association, on "Nathaniel Macon and His Influence on North Carolina History." A double quartet, composed of Misses Pearson, Durham, Anderson, and Briggs and Messrs. Betts, Coburn, Newcomb, and Thomas, next delighted the audience with a rendering of "There's a River."

President Connor then introduced to the audience Mr. Edwin Markham, the guest of honor at this meeting of the Literary and Historical Association.

Mr. Markham's subject was "America as a New Field for Poetry." Few speakers in Raleigh have ever more completely captivated their audiences than Mr. Markham did on this occasion; and this copy of our Minutes is greatly enriched by the report of his address given elsewhere. Hardly less worth coming to hear than the address itself was Mr. Markham's reading of his famous poem, "The Man with the Hoe." This was done so effectively as to make it one of the memories of a lifetime for all who had the privilege of being present.

The Thirteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association then came to a close with the report of the committee on the nomination of officers for the ensuing year. Rev. R. B. Drane submitted this report, announcing in the outset that the committee had been informed by Mr. Clarence Poe that having served as Secretary

since 1903, he would under no circumstances accept a reëlection. Mr. Drane, on behalf of the committee, then recommended the following officers:

President.....Dr. W. P. Few, of Trinity College.
First Vice-President.....Mrs. Margaret Busbee Shipp, Raleigh.
Second Vice-President.....Mr. O. W. Blacknall, Kittrell.
Third Vice-President.....Dr. Archibald Henderson, Chapel Hill.
Secretary-Treasurer.....Mr. R. D. W. Connor, Raleigh.

These officers were then unanimously elected; Dr. Archibald Henderson, however, declined to accept the position tendered him.

The meeting then adjourned.

Clarence Poe,
Secretary.

The Historical Foundations of Democracy in North Carolina

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT R. D. W. CONNOR BEFORE THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, DECEMBER 3, 1912.

A little more than a year ago your kindness selected me for the honor and duty of presiding over this thirteenth annual session of the North Carolina State Literary and Historical Association. This honor, I am fully conscious, I owe to no merit of my own but to your generous partiality, for which I desire to return my sincerest thanks. That same partiality I shall expect to be my advocate to plead your forbearance for whatever failure I may meet with in performing adequately the duties you have imposed upon me. Among these is the duty of opening this session with an address on some topic in keeping with the purposes of this Association. You will naturally expect me to select some subject from the history of our own State, but at the same time, you have a right to expect it to be some subject from which some lesson may be drawn that will be of practical value in the working out of our own present day problems. Whether I have succeeded in meeting these just expectations is for your generous judgment to say. My subject is "The Historical Foundations of Democracy in North Carolina."

The history of North Carolina during the little more than a decade since the organization of this Association, has been characterized by a remarkable development along two parallel lines, one leading to a widespread material prosperity, the other to a popular intellectual renaissance. One manifests itself in the hum of mills, the shriek of whistles, the roar and rush of trains, revealing the power and energy of an awakening people. The other, no less a revelation of power, is nevertheless a silent movement whose energy is generated in the quiet of the schoolroom and the closet of the student. These two movements have created conditions out of which has sprung a third, political in its nature, just beginning to make itself felt and demanding changes in our system of government profound in their character and far reaching in their effects. None of these movements would have been possible without the others, while all are the results of forces that for two and a half centuries have been shaping our civilization and determining our destiny.

In recognition of this fact we are, as a people, turning more than at any other time in our history to a study of the past to seek therein an explanation of the present and a forecast of the future. One of the most striking features of the intellectual awakening of which I have spoken is the recent rapid development of our historical consciousness.

Out of it have sprung such intellectual activities as the organization of this Literary and Historical Association, the creation of the State Historical Commission, the organization of numerous historical and patriotic societies, the preservation of historic battlefields and buildings, the marking of historic sites, the celebration of historic anniversaries, the publication of historical manuscripts, monographs and books, and the numerous other methods by which mankind has always preserved the history of the race. In the past decade alone we have erected more monuments and written more books in North Carolina, many of them works of real merit, than in all the previous two hundred and fifty years of our history.

The development of the inward spirit of which such activities are but the outward manifestations, means much in the life of any people. "The spirit of a people is the history of a people impersonated in the life of a people. If there is no history of a people, there is no spirit of a people," and without such a spirit the people perish. It seems to me, therefore, that nothing can be more important to a democratic people than the cultivation of such a spirit. Great and rapid material and political development may prove anything but an unmixed blessing if it be not accompanied by a corresponding development of the mental and spiritual resources of the State, and there is no better way for the State to develop these resources and stengthen this side of its life than through the study of its history. Every duty which we are called upon to perform as citizens of a democracy comes to us out of the past moulded into shape by its influence and charged with its spirit. This influence we must understand, this spirit we must appreciate if we would perform the duties and meet the responsibilities of citizenship intelligently and effectively. It follows, therefore, that a knowledge of the history and character of the people among whom we are to live and work is a very necessary part of our equipment for service in a democracy. Properly pursued, the study of history broadens the outlook, sharpens the intelligence, strengthens the character, and confirms the patriotism of the people, and when the day of trial and stress comes, as such days do come to all people, the qualities thus developed become the chief assets of a democratic State.

The American people are even now facing such a test of character. A school of politics has arisen among us founded on the theory that under our system of representative democracy political, social and economic inequalities have sprung up that have closed to the people and their children doors of opportunity that once stood wide open to their fathers; and under the teaching of this school the spirit of discontent has spread abroad in the land. Never before has our political system undergone

so searching an examination as that to which it is now being subjected; never before have demands for radical changes striking at the very roots of constitutional government been so strong and so insistent. These demands wise statesmanship will heed and prepare to meet, but in meeting them in the several States of the Union it will take into consideration the origin, history and character of their people. It will not seek blindly to apply to such ancient commonwealths as Virginia, Massachusetts and North Carolina political experiments and expedients that have nothing to recommend them but the fact that, after brief trials, they appear to be successful in such recent communities as Wisconsin, Oregon, and Oklahoma. For in those States which have not behind them the conservative forces of history or whose populations have sprung largely from races that have not either by inheritance or long experience the instincts of self-government, there is danger that the people, failing to understand and appreciate the long and painful struggle by which orderly liberty has been attained, may become impatient of those salutary restraints upon the popular will which the history of constitutional government has invariably shown to be necessary for the success of democracy; and mistaking expedients for principles, may too hastily discard the lessons of experience for the promises of experiment. On the other hand, in those States which look back to a long and honorable history as their chief claim to the respect of mankind, there is equal danger that an undue reverence for the past may influence their people to tolerate evils which present no claim to consideration except age, rather than adopt remedies against which no ground of opposition can be urged except youth; and thus these old, conservative communities may unfortunately lay themselves open to the just charge of blocking the path of progress without conserving the interests of democracy.

North Carolina, certainly not the least of the States of the Union, could not if she would and, I am sure, would not if she could, refuse to bear her share of the responsibility which present day conditions impose upon her and her sister States. It is of importance, therefore, to us to consider the manner in which she may be expected to meet her obligations. If the origin and character of her people, and the history they have made here, afford any basis for forming a judgment, we shall be safe in asserting that she will be found in neither of the groups that I have described. She will approach her task, as becomes a people conscious of a great past, with a spirit of conservatism that will excite the contempt of the former; and as becomes a people conscious of a great future, she will solve her problems as they are presented with a spirit of progressiveness that will dismay the latter. And in the future, as in the past, unmoved by the contempt of the one or the dismay of the other,

she will do her duty, if not with great brilliancy and acclaim, nevertheless with wisdom and quiet dignity. Such was her attitude when confronted with the Federal Constitution in 1788; and such was her attitude when confronted with Secession in 1861.

Many different factors, of course, have entered into the formation of the character of North Carolina and the determination of her conduct when brought face to face with great crises, and it is to a consideration of these that I shall invite your attention this evening. Foremost among them, because it underlies all others, is the origin of her population. The population of North Carolina has been less affected by outside influences and the infusion of foreign blood than the population of any other American State; and today the dominant characteristics of her people remain the same, modified only by the conditions of American life, as those of the original German, Scotch, and English settlers. A clear understanding, therefore, of the influence of each of these peoples on our civilization is necessary for an understanding of our history.

The influence of the Germans has been chiefly economic. The early German pioneer took but little interest in politics. The only governments which he had known in the Old World were pure despotisms and accordingly he lacked political experience. About the only political principle he was familiar with was obedience to constituted authority, and he concerned himself but little whether that authority was despotic or democratic. He was willing, therefore, to leave politics to his Scotch and English fellow colonists while he devoted his energies to his industrial affairs. Two causes contributed to this result. One was the communistic spirit of the German immigrants which led them to settle in compact communities; the other was the geology of the region in which they settled. The facilities which it offered for manufacturing enterprises did not escape the keen eyes of the early German pioneers. In the section settled by the English, fifty years passed before a mill of any character was erected; in Wachovia, on the other hand, before the close of their first year, the Germans had in operation a flour mill, a carpenter's shop, a shoe shop, a pottery, a blacksmith's shop, a tannery, and a cooperage; and in 1773 a visitor to Wachovia records the fact that the settlers there possessed "a number of useful and lucrative manufactures, particularly a very extensive one of earthenware, which they have brought to great perfection, and supply the whole country with it for some hundred miles around." The first cotton mill erected in North Carolina was built at Lincolnton in 1813 by Michael Schenck, whose name is sufficient evidence of his nationality. This mill was the forerunner of that remarkable industrial development which has raised North Carolina to the second place among the States of the American

Union in the manufacture of cotton. How largely this development is the work of our German population will be readily understood by recalling the names of the pioneers of manufacturing in North Carolina—the Schencks, the Holts, the Frieses, the Hokes, the Reinhardts—as well as the names of the men behind the manufacturing industries of today. An examination of the reports of the State Commissioner of Labor and Printing will reveal the fact that a very large percentage of these enterprises are yet owned or controlled by men of German descent. In 1910, for instance, the sixteen counties that were settled chiefly by German immigrants contained something more than forty per cent of all the cotton, woolen, silk, and knitting mills then in the State.

The influence of industry on government is always exercised in the interest of conservatism. And so in North Carolina, at every period of our history, the influence of our German citizenship has been among the most conservative forces in the life of the State. Thus, in 1776, the German communities in North Carolina held back when the English and Scotch were ready to plunge the country into rebellion and revolution; and in 1861 they opposed slavery and secession. Though they could not prevent revolution in 1776 or secession in 1861, their influence undoubtedly went far toward making both those movements more orderly and less noisy in North Carolina than in some of her sister States; and so today the North Carolina citizen of German descent continues to exercise a singularly potent and salutary influence which will not, indeed, prevent our joining in the progressive movements of the age, but will cause us to move cautiously and thoughtfully until at least we know that our ground is firm and certain.

There are two elements of Scotch population to be found in North Carolina—the Highland Scotch and the Lowland Scotch, or the so-called Scotch-Irish. In estimating the influence on our civilization of these Scotch people the most important fact to be considered is their religion. To it we may trace in a large measure that intensity of convictions, that tenacity of purpose, that vigor of intellect and, above all, that spirit of democracy for which they have been so preëminently distinguished in our history. The system of Presbyterianism which these Scotch immigrants brought with them to the New World sprung up in Scotland without recognition from the law, and was founded on the right of the individual to determine his ecclesiastical system for himself. Accordingly the Church which grew out of it was a democratic institution. It summoned laymen in an overwhelming majority to its early assemblies and legislated for itself, not through bishops and clergy, but through the laymen, that is the people, and this is the very corner stone of democracy. "No Church constitution," says John Richard Greene,

"has proved in practice so democratic as that of Scotland." In a country where Church and State were so closely allied as they were in Scotland in the sixteenth century, it was but a short step from ecclesiastical to political affairs. The same democratic spirit which prevailed in the Church, therefore, might easily be made to prevail in the State. Thus the Scottish Presbytery became a training school for democracy. "A Scottish Presbytery," declared King James I, "as well fitteth with monarchy as God and the devil. No bishop, no king." This democratic spirit, derived primarily from his ecclesiastical system, the Scottish immigrant brought with him to North Carolina. Thrown out as the advanced guard of civilization on the extreme western frontier and left to work out his own salvation in his own way, without any material assistance from government, he developed still further that spirit of aggressive, fighting democracy which has made him such a potent force in our history and has been his most distinctive contribution to our modern civilization.

Preceding both the German and the Scotchman came the Englishman, who, some time about the middle of the seventeenth century, crossed the Virginia boundary line, sought out the rich bottom lands along the shores of Albemarle Sound, and there laid the foundations of the commonwealth. Less conservative than the German and less democratic than the Scotchman, the English settler possessed all the German's respect for authority and all the Scotchman's love of liberty; but he demanded that the authority which claimed his allegiance should conform to the constitutional principles of government which he had inherited from his fathers, and he insisted that his liberty should be in accordance with English conceptions and English standards. To him we owe it that these standards were firmly planted in the soil of North Carolina. During the early years of our history he took up arms and went forth to battle more than once in defense of his ideals of constitutional government, and achieving success at last, he wrote them into the Constitution of 1776, whence they have been handed down to us as his richest legacy to all future generations.

The history of constitutional development in North Carolina since 1776 shows the influence of German conservatism, Scotch democracy and English respect for constitutional principles. It has been the story of a conservative, but continuous growth toward limited, representative democracy. The student can make no graver mistake than to suppose that North Carolina, or any other American State, began its independent existence in 1776 as a pure democracy "America in 1776," says a brilliant writer on current political problems, "was not a democracy. It was not even a democracy on paper. It was at best a shadow-democ-

racy." [1] To say this neither impeaches the wisdom nor decries the work of the framers of our first State Constitutions. The truth is they did not intend to establish democracies. The men who led and dominated the political thought of North Carolina in 1776 were English landowners whose political ideals were found in the British Constitution. Whatever may be said of the British Constitution of Lloyd George's England, democracy certainly was no feature of the constitution of the England of George III. This constitution, in its full vigor, the English settlers had demanded should follow them to the New World; and they had insisted that their charters should guarantee to them "all liberties, franchises and privileges" enjoyed by their fellow subjects in England. In 1775 the American people rebelled against the authority of the Mother Country because, in order to carry out certain progressive measures, she proposed to ride roughshod over these same "liberties, franchises and privileges." George III and his Ministers felt for such political "sop," introduced from the British Constitution into the early American charters, and thence into our State and Federal Constitutions, to appease the fears of "a jealous people," all that contempt which so strongly moves the scorn of many of our modern reformers; and they determined that this "sop" should not stand in the way of the expansion and progress of the British Empire.[2]

The Americans, on the other hand, looking to the ancient landmarks set up by the fathers in the days of Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, protested against the innovations of the Ministry, though they came disguised in the mantle of progress, and went to war to conserve the constitutional "liberties, franchises and privileges" which had been handed down to them from time immemorial. In that struggle, therefore, England, not America, represented the position that in modern political parlance would be called "progressive"; the Americans were the "reactionaries" of their day. Nevertheless they believed in progress though they did not prate much about it. Their very presence on a new and undeveloped continent shows them to have been of a progressive race. But they believed, as many of their descendants believe today, that progress purchased by the surrender of their constitutional guarantees of liberties, would be purchased at too high a rate. Accordingly when the men of North Carolina came to write their Constitution in 1776, they were much more determined to write into it those same safeguards of political liberty,—representative government, the principle that taxation without representation is tyranny, the right of trial by jury, the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus,* the prohibition against

[1] Weyl: "The New Democracy," p. 12.

[2] Weyl in his "The New Democracy" thus characterizes the first ten amendments to the Federal Constitution. "With a sop therefore to a jealous people in the form of the first ten amendments, guaranteeing civil and political rights," etc., p. 15.

the passage of *ex post facto* laws, the guarantee that no man shall be deprived of his life, liberty or property "but by the law of the land" or "by due process of law," and all these other great constitutional principles that have long characterized the governments of English speaking peoples—they were, I repeat, much more intent upon writing these great principles into their Constitution than they were upon establishing a democracy. Today their wisdom stands justified at the bar of history, and if there is any people on the face of the earth who ought not to impeach it it is that people whose very existence as a free, self-governing people was preserved by an appeal to these same political "sops" during the decade from 1866 to 1876. The framers of our Constitution realized, what many of their descendants seem too eager to forget, that without the preservation of these constitutional principles in their full vigor there can be neither liberty nor democracy in the State whether sovereignty resides in one man or whether it resides in a million men.

The government established by the Constitution of 1776 was a representative democracy in form, but in form only. In fixing the basis of representation in the law-making department it paid no attention to population. Every county was given the same number of representatives in both houses of the General Assembly, and certain towns in the House of Commons, without regard to population; and in this respect at least our first State Constitution was less democratic than the Federal Constitution that followed it eleven years later. The same thing may be said of the qualifications for suffrage and for office holding. To English statesmen of 1776—and such were the framers of our first State Constitution—manhood suffrage was a Utopian dream, interesting, perhaps, as a topic for philosophic speculation, but impossible in practical politics; and, although they conferred the right to vote for members of the House of Commons upon all freemen who had paid their taxes, they offset this concession to democracy by restricting the right to vote for State Senators to those who possessed a freehold of fifty acres. Even less democratic than this were the qualifications for office holding. No person could be a member of the House of Commons unless he possessed in the county which he represented "not less than one hundred acres of land in fee, or for the term of his own life"; no person could be a Senator unless he possessed in the county which he represented "not less than three hundred acres of land in fee"; and no person was eligible for the office of Governor unless he was possessed of "freehold in lands and tenements, above the value of one thousand pounds"—an amount comparable to a fortune in our own day of at least ten times that sum. Other undemocratic features forbade any clergyman, while in the exercise of his pastoral

functions, to sit in the General Assembly and imposed a sectarian test for office holding designed to exclude Roman Catholics, Jews and Atheists. The people had no voice in the selection of their public servants. The Governor and other executive officers, the Councilors of State, and the judges were all elected by the General Assembly; and the judges held office for life. No provision was made for calling a constitutional convention or for amending the Constitution in any other way, and the Constitution itself was never submitted to the people for ratification.

Undemocratic as this Constitution was in form, it was even less so in spirit. Inasmuch as all State officials were elected by the General Assembly, and membership in the General Assembly was based on a property qualification, property not men, controlled the government. The theory of property was then, as it has always been, that the best government is that which governs least. It teaches that government has fulfilled its mission when it has preserved order, punished crime, and kept down the rate of taxation. Under the Constitution of 1776 this theory of government prevailed in North Carolina for more than half a century, a period during which the State undertook no great work for the material, intellectual or social betterment of its people; and it makes the dreariest, most uninspiring chapter in the entire history of North Carolina.

A single movement, however, beginning in the early years of this period and bringing it to a close in triumph, saves it from utter barrenness. This movement was the rise and development of democracy in North Carolina, and its origin may be traced to the influence of the Scotch-Irish in the central and western parts of the State. Measured by the twentieth century standards of democracy, the political ideals of the Scotch-Irish in 1776 were undemocratic enough; nevertheless had those ideals been expressed in our first Constitution that document would have been much more democratic than it really was. Typical of the Scotch-Irish communities was the county of Mecklenburg, which instructed its delegates to the Convention of 1776 to organize a government that should "be a simple democracy or as near it as possible." To the Scotch-Irish influence in that convention we are indebted for the division of political power in the State into three distinct departments independent of each other, legislative, executive, and judicial; for the separation of Church and State; for the clause requiring the maintenance of a university and the establishment of public schools; and for others of the more democratic features of the Constitution. It was in these Scotch-Irish communities, too, that the demand for a more democratic basis of representation in the General Assembly originated. Several years passed after the adoption of the Constitution before the

people came to understand clearly the undemocratic principles on which representation was based, or to appreciate fully its practical working. After the Revolution the center of population moved steadily westward, and this fact made necessary the erection of new counties in the West, each entitled to two Commoners and one Senator. The East, which had dominated the political life of the State on account of its larger number of counties, soon perceived the danger in which it stood of losing its political supremacy. Accordingly, to assure the continuance of its power, it followed the policy of offsetting new counties in the West by the creation of new counties in the East without regard to their population. In 1830, for instance, thirty-six of the sixty-four counties in the State were east of Raleigh. These thirty-six counties contained only forty-one per cent of the voting population of the State; yet they sent to the General Assembly fifty-eight per cent of its members. The voting population of these eastern counties was only 8.7 per cent of the total white population of the State; nevertheless this 8.7 per cent elected a majority of the Legislature by whom the Governor and all other State officials were chosen and thus controlled the government in all its branches. "The State government," says a careful student of our constitutional history, "was developing into an aristocracy based upon county representation without regard to the right of the majority to make the laws under which they lived."

This aristocracy not only affronted the democracy of the Scotch-Irish communities, it also obstructed the industrial development of the German communities in the West. The economic interests of these communities were antagonistic to the *laissez-faire* policy of the East. These interests demanded a program of State activities embracing internal improvements, improved public highways, railroads, geological surveys, the conservation of resources, public schools, and other progressive measures now universally acknowledged to be governmental in their nature. The East, resting its industrial and social system on extensive plantations and slave labor, opposed these democratic innovations, and through its control of the State government successfully opposed them for many years. The Scotch and German communities in the West, finding both their political interests and their material welfare involved in the triumph of democratic principles, demanded amendments to the Constitution so as to change the basis of representation from land to people, to give to the people directly the election of their Governor, and in other respects to make the government democratic in practice and in spirit as well as in form.

A long and bitter struggle, lasting the better part of a quarter-century, followed before democracy won its first victory. During this period a

great democratic movement, worldwide in its significance, swept over the English-speaking countries of the earth. In England it found expression in the Catholic Emancipation Act, the abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire, and the Reform Bill of 1832; in America it revealed itself in the creation of new States with constitutions recognizing manhood suffrage, in the extension of the suffrage in practically all the old States, in the election of Andrew Jackson to the Presidency, and in the growth of a strong anti-slavery sentiment in the nation. It was a movement toward democracy comparable only to that of our own time, and as North Carolina can not now, so she could not then withstand its onward sweep. In 1834 the reformers won their first victory by securing the passage of an act submitting to the people the question of calling a constitutional convention. No greater triumph for democracy was ever won in North Carolina. For the first time in their history the people were to be consulted on a great problem of government; for the first time the decision of a great political issue was referred directly to the people.

This first referendum resulted in a victory for democracy. The people called a convention, charged with the duty of purging the Constitution of its undemocratic features, and to it sent their ablest men. These men, as a rule, were in sympathy with the democratic movements of their day. They abolished borough representation. They overthrew the territorial basis of representation in the House of Commons, and adopted one resting on population. They struck out of the Constitution the sectarian test for office holding. They took the election of the Governor away from the General Assembly and gave it to the people. They made provision for amending the Constitution by submitting proposed amendments to a referendum. Finally, unlike their predecessors of 1776, they recognized the rising power of democracy by submitting their work for ratification to the people.

The influence of these changes on the industrial, intellectual and political life of the State can not easily be overestimated. They ushered in an era of progress that within the next quarter-century raised North Carolina from the lowest to the highest rank among the slave-holding States in those things that make for the material and intellectual uplift of the people. To this era belong the erection of the present State Capitol, the building of the North Carolina Railroad, the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad, the beginning of the Western North Carolina Railroad, the organization of the North Carolina Agricultural Society, the erection of the first hospital for the insane, the founding of the State School for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind, the establishment of a system of public schools and the

expansion of the University from a local high school with ninety students to a real college whose five hundred students represented every State from the Potomac to the Gulf of Mexico. Two political institutions, brought into existence by the work of this convention, though unrecognized by the Constitution, have been potent factors in the evolution of democracy in North Carolina. One of these is the party State Convention, the other, the preëlection canvass of the State by party nominees for State offices. So long as the Governor was chosen by the Legislature, the people not only had no voice in his election, but had even less voice in selecting the party candidates. This was done by a small coterie of party leaders—in modern political parlance, the ring—whose followers in the Legislature merely ratified their choice. We may concede, and history will bear us out in doing so, that this ring-rule placed in public life many able, honorable men who would never have entered into a political scramble for office. Nevertheless it was not democracy. The change from this method of selecting party nominees to selection by a convention, in spite of all the party convention's defects, was a long step toward democratic rule. Under the former method, inasmuch as the people had no voice in deciding political issues, there was no reason for discussing them from the stump. When the election of the Governor was given to the people, however, it brought with it of necessity the preëlection campaign. Foreseeing this result, many conservative statesmen opposed the amendment changing the mode of electing Governors. One of the delegates in the convention declared that he had lately seen a gentleman from Tennessee, where the Governor was elected by the people, who told him that "candidates were traveling through the State on an electioneering campaign at expense and trouble to themselves and great annoyance to the people." Although all of us will probably admit that at times this custom has proved annoying, nevertheless none will dispute, I suppose, that it has brought the people into closer touch with their government, imposed upon them a greater responsibility in the determination of governmental policies, and greatly advanced the cause of democracy.

To such public discussion may undoubtedly be attributed the success of the next step toward democratic government in North Carolina. Though the Convention of 1835 did much fine work for democracy it did not purge the Constitution entirely of its undemocratic features. It abolished the sectarian test for office holding, but substituted for it a religious test broader, indeed, in its scope, but sufficiently undemocratic in its limitations. It abolished the equal representation of counties in the Senate but it adopted a scheme of representation by districts, based not on population but on the value of property assessed for taxation; and

it did not disturb the property qualification for the right to vote for State Senators. The Senate, therefore, was left as the representative of property, not people. It was against this provision of the Constitution that democracy made its next fight. The movement to abolish the property qualification for electors for Senators, like the movement for the reforms of 1835, originated in the Scotch-Irish counties of the State. It became the leading issue in four political campaigns, thrice suffering defeat before its advocates succeeded in forcing a referendum, thus assuring its triumph. With the adoption of this reform both branches of the law-making power, as well as the chief of the executive department, were brought under the direct control of the people.

The triumphs of democratic principles which we have been considering until now were the results of growth from within; those which we are next to consider were the results of force from without. The changes made in the Constitution by the conventions of 1865 and 1868, as the result of the Civil War, which were in line with the development of democracy as I have traced it, have become permanent features of our government. The most important of these were the abolition of slavery, the removal of all religious tests for office holding, the placing of the election of all State and county officers, judicial as well as executive, in the hands of the people, the overthrow of the life tenure of judges, and the striking out of all property qualifications for voting and holding office. Had those conventions stopped there, history would undoubtedly have pronounced their work good. But unfortunately they were controlled by men either ignorant or defiant of the history, traditions and character of the people for whom they were framing a government; and in the name of democracy they incorporated in the Constitution other features that were revolutionary rather than evolutionary. The endowment of the negro with the suffrage, though apparently an application of a democratic principle, was really antagonistic to the growth of genuine democracy. It invited disaster to democratic institutions by conferring power upon the unfittest in the State without providing means for their training in self-government. Self-government, if it means anything, means self-restraint,—self-restraint in the exercise of political power not merely by individuals but by large masses of people acting as a unit, and self-restraint is the very essence of democracy. The attempt in 1868 to force the forms of democracy upon a people who knew nothing of its essence proved disastrous to democratic institutions and arrested the progress of democracy for at least a generation. The people of North Carolina were forced to await the course of events before the time was ripe for the correction of the evil and then by the last change which they have made in the Constitution they conserved the in-

terest of democracy by restricting the suffrage to those qualified to exercise it properly, while at the same time they left the way open for all men to prepare themselves for this highest privilege to be enjoyed in a democracy.

It is evident, I think, from the foregoing discussion, that the Constitutional development of North Carolina has been a conservative but steady growth toward the realization of the purpose of the men of Mecklenburg in 1776—"to have a simple democracy as far as possible." Every restriction placed upon suffrage and eligibility to office by the Constitution of 1776 has been removed, the election of the officials in all three of the great departments of government has been placed in the hands of the people; the referendum has been introduced and approved by the courts, while the initiative and other methods of ascertaining and enforcing the will of the people are being held in reserve for use if conditions shall arise demanding them. The influences that I have traced in the development of these democratic principles are as potent today as at any time in our history, and must be reckoned with by those of us who desire a continuation of this development. The democracy that we now enjoy is a perfectly natural evolution out of the history, character and life conditions of the people of North Carolina. If this natural process of evolution is permitted to go on without interruption from outside forces, democracy will continue to go forward approaching ever nearer and nearer to the democratic ideal; but if any effort is made to force the people of this State to wear the ready made garments of the democracy of other communities without regard to their fit, it will as inevitably arrest the progress of democracy among us in the twentieth century as it did in the nineteenth. Democracy is a sentiment, a spirit, and not a form of government. "The mere machinery of democracy," as an eminent English writer has recently said, "is nothing. It is of value only as it avails to express the spirit of a people; and if that spirit is set on vain things, on amassing wealth which it has not the taste or judgment to spend, on the acquisition of territory which it does not need, or on the unreal show of military glory, then neither the ballot box nor the party machine will help it. But if it cares for things of more humdrum sound, but of more vital meaning, to combat disease at its source, to make of the city a thing of beauty and comfort for the people instead of a home of dirt and din, to secure for every willing worker a fair share of the fruits of his work, and to provide out of the surplus for those who have fallen by the way, then it has a will that is worth expressing, and the forms of political democracy give it the means of realization." Let us not forget, however, that it is not more fatal to real democracy to force the spirit of a people to remain encased in forms of government

which it has outgrown, than it is to force upon it forms of government for which it is not ready. To do either is to force democracy to run its race in hobble skirts.

Another important characteristic of the evolution of democratic institutions in North Carolina is that democracy at every stage of its growth, save one, has recognized the existence of certain great principles of right, justice and liberty, fundamental, eternal and unchanging, which even it can not overthrow with impunity, but for its own salvation must maintain unimpaired at all hazards. These fundamental principles are the "fetiches" which excite so much contempt among modern reformers. As for myself, if to hold in deepest reverence these great political principles upon which not only liberty, but democracy itself is dependent, is to worship a "fetich," then I plead guilty of the sacrilege, if sacrilege it be. If I am to be deprived of my life, liberty, or property otherwise than "by the law of the land,"—or by "due process of law"—it is no comfort to me to know that the outrage was perpetrated by the tyranny of a million despots instead of a single despot. No one will dispute the proposition that in every self-governing community, the well considered will of the majority of those upon whom political power is conferred must ultimately prevail; nevertheless it has always been a cardinal principle with English-speaking peoples that before any majority is fit for the task of self-government it must accept certain fundamental principles as restraints imposed upon its own will for the protection of the minority against wrong and injustice. To destroy these principles, no matter in what manner, or in whose name the destruction may be wrought, is to destroy at a single blow the foundation of both liberty and democracy.

Thus I have attempted to point out the historical foundations of our present day democracy in North Carolina. It remains for us to consider very briefly the democracy of the future. First of all, What is democracy? Lincoln defines democracy as a scheme of government that is builded on three political principles as its corner stones. Democracy is first of all government of the people. It is secondly government by the people. It is lastly government for the people. Government of the people we have always had in North Carolina. We have now, as I have attempted to show, government by the people. However, if changes in our present methods of ascertaining the will of the people be found necessary for more effectively accomplishing that purpose no good reason can be urged against them unless it can be shown that they will undermine and weaken the great fundamental principles upon which our democracy is founded; but wise statesmanship will not confound these nonessentials, these mere forms of democracy, with the thing itself. Democracy is primarily government for the people; and to achieve this

is the great work of the immediate future in North Carolina. The great tasks of our generation are to make our State government less an agent for repressive measures and a more effective agent for progressive measures; a government resting on a revenue system, yielding an ample income for all its legitimate purposes, in which the burdens of taxation are so adjusted that every man shall contribute his proportionate share, and neither more nor less than his proportionate share toward its support; a government that shall shift its chief emphasis from courts and constables and prisons to farms and workshops and homes; a government in whose councils politics shall yield first place to the protection of childhood, the education of youth, and the conservation of the manhood and the womanhood of the State; a government that will recognize no higher duty than the enforcement of the laws of sanitation and the protection of the lives of its people from the insidious attacks of disease; a government that is concerned less in the size and wealth of its towns and cities than it is in directing their growth while they are yet small into centers of health and beauty and social comfort and industrial prosperity; a government that will lend its every effort to the reclamation of its wasted soils, the restoration of its forests, the construction of modern highways, and to the building of "a more complete and enduring rural civilization, where strong and vigorous manhood is reared and where the rarest and purest forms of womanhood are in bloom"; a government in which not only is no man so high that the law will not be enforced against him, but also, in the eloquent language of Governor Aycock, that higher and finer thing, a government in which "no man is so low that it shall not reach down to him to lift him up if may be and set him on his feet again and bid him Godspeed to better things."

The Country Man

ADDRESS OF WALTER H. PAGE, EDITOR OF THE WORLD'S WORK, BEFORE THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, DECEMBER 3, 1912.

Ladies and Gentlemen: Speaking of literature I should like to call your attention to a striking fact. The historians of literature entertain us with explanations how it happened. You will read of the spacious times of great Elizabeth, how it was an era of unprecented adventure. Every man dreamed dreams of great fortunes and of good fighting and of fountains of youth beyond the seas. It was a time of intellectual ferment. And it was these unusual conditions that produced Shakespeare. Anybody can see how a Shakespeare was bound to come out of a life like this.

So, too, about the great outburst of Roman literature in the time of Augustus. Rome was acknowledged the mistress of the world. Such a state of political society was bound to produce great poets. Anybody can see that.

A similar argument is made about the Periclean Era of Athens. You couldn't have prevented a great literature then if you had tried.

The great Russian novelists of the last century are explained on a wholly different basis. Men's activities were so suppressed in Russia that they had to dream. There was nothing else to do. That, therefore, was an ideal soil for great fiction.

Nothing has happened in literature but it admits of an easy and obvious explanation—after the event. But I have not found any historian who foretold a time of rich production. Their explanations all work backward and never forward. It would be a great satisfaction to know just when or under what conditions a great outburst of literature will come in North Carolina; for then we might prepare for its coming and make sure that we should recognize it when it comes. I think that no people has ever recognized its greatest literature when it first appeared.

Now I am going to have the audacity to make such a prediction. A prophet is reasonably safe so long as he omits dates. I shall not give a date, and I am sure that as a literary prophet I can not cut a more amusing figure than most of our old friends, the historians of literature.

How, then, may we go about stimulating literary production in North Carolina? No doubt there are many ways; but I am going to venture a guess at two ways. One is by care of our land, and the other is by the care of our people. For I suspect that, after we have made all possible explanations of literature, the coming of a man with the right

kind of eyes in his head and the right kind of words on his tongue has something to do with it.

As for the care of the land—We have long wearied ourselves and the rest of the world by boasting of our particular slope of earth from our mountains to our sea. But it is one thing to boast about it and quite another thing to appreciate it and properly to care for it. You have, of course, observed that men who were born here, and have gone away and wandered over many lands and lived long elsewhere and come back again—you have, of course, observed how the beauty of the land smites them afresh. I should like to add my own experience to this general experience; for every time that I have come back here from any part of the United States or from any foreign land, the tonic of our air and the blue of our sky and the slope of our hills and the quiet richness of our lowlands, even to the ocean, thrust themselves afresh upon me. It is a good land to live in and, when one must die, a good land to die in. As men grow older (you will agree with me), we become more sensitive to a landscape, to a climate, to a sunset, to the azure heavens, to the smell of the earth, and to the bloom and perfume of our forests and fields. Really to feel and to know that Nature gave us every riot of her bounty—this is one thing—really to appreciate this priceless and incomparable gift of God.

But it is quite another thing properly to care for it and to make plans for saving and wisely using it, not only during our lifetime, but for all time to come, for men and women will be here millions of years after we are forgotten. Literature? Here is a hint. Describe our beneficent land as it is now. If you do that well enough, you will have readers after every man now living is forgotten.

To care for our land properly involves a wise and far seeing policy, national, State, county, and individual. We have begun the purchase of a great national forest reserve in our mountains—wisely. We have begun to make our mountains accessible. We have begun to appreciate the value of streams and trees. Our future history depends on the wisdom with which we work out such plans. There is not a foot of our land that is not precious and that may not be made healthful and beautiful. There is a part of this State known as Moore County. Forty years ago it was considered good to hold the rest of the earth together.

Well, Moore County has built roads, starting nowhere and going nowhere—the best automobile roads that I have found in any country; and men are coming from far and near to make the land bloom along those roads. And Moore County has authorized the building of a parkway—a continuous hardy garden, if you please—along these thoroughfares. Now nobody knew either the natural beauty of the country or

the possibilities of gardens till it was made possible to drive over the county in automobiles. Planting a public garden along roads that run through a wilderness of pine stumps and blackjacks—that, ladies and gentlemen, gives a hint of what I mean by caring for our land and preserving it. And what will you plant in such gardens of endless sand? They go to the swamp and find flowering shrubs enough to make gardens that may become famous the world over.

May I commend a survey of North Carolina that shall show the chances of doing such things on every mile of our soil? Such a survey as an engineer or a landscape architect would make for a park? We have a park—that is all that the whole State is.

We have come to a place in our development where we need to make sure that our whole land shall be wisely cared for. That is one way towards a great literature.

Do you know how much good literature has been written about Devonshire, in England? Go there and you will see why. And you will discover that hedges and lawns and roads and lanes have had one thousand years to increase in beauty since Englishmen first began to use that land well.

Now the next way to the production of literature, in my audacious prediction, is to care for our people; and our people are country people. We have no cities yet and are not likely to have the great evils of great cities for many a year to come. In this, also, God is very good to us.

Our fundamental task here is to make the countryman, the man in the fields, prosperous, care free, and happy. I can see how that would so change our life and the spirit of our life that some effervescence of joy would be bound to find fit expression. If this seem a long and indirect journey, I pray your patience while I explain certain things that you already know; and let us see where we may land after a little adventure, which at first may weary you, as most promising adventures do.

I now come to my mutton by a different path in the pasture, if you will follow me.

The two great economic facts of the last century that affected life in the United States were these:

First, the unprecedented rush of men to the farm which was caused by the homestead acts. The government gave away a domain of vast extent on conditions easy without parallel in human history; and millions of men from every part of the older States and from the Old World settled our great agricultural area. There never was before such a rush of men to the land. They grew a great deal more surplus wheat and corn than we needed. Decade after decade our chief export was food

products. In a word, they overdid the business of farming. There were far too many farmers in proportion to our population. There was, therefore, in the next generation and the next a reverse movement—a movement of the young fellows from the farms to the towns. Farming was too poorly paid a business for them. At the same time it so happened at first that the towns had a use for these young fellows; it was the first great era of our city building. Railroads had brought great business chances in the towns; and soon we run against the second great economic fact of the century.

This second economic fact was the development of all the great new machinery of modern life—railroads, telegraphs, telephones, banks, chains of banks, great corporations, trusts—all the vast machinery of doing business quickly and in great volume which has made our methods so different from the methods of our grandfathers.

Recall a fact like this: My father as a boy went with my grandfather's caravan of wagons, loaded with cotton, all the way from Wake County to Petersburg, Va., to sell it—over miserable roads, camping by the roadside at night and taking a week to make the journey either way; and in those days hogsheads of tobacco were rolled from Granville County to market at Petersburg. Now think of all the organization of business that came between that primitive time and our own day. That is what I mean by the modern reorganization of the world.

Well, all the business organization of the world was done in the towns for obvious reasons. A town is an organization; it is that fact which distinguishes it from the country. In the country every farm stands alone. It has very few relations to any other. In the city, trade, finance, social life—everything is organized, from the Board of Trade to the Daughters of Rebekah.

The town is organized life: the country is unorganized life. That's the difference that counts.

Add to that fact this other fact—that most of the towns of the United States were becoming organized first when farming was greatly overdone and consequently underpaid.

It was in this condition of things that men of my own age were born. The most enterprising men were going to the town. The least enterprising were staying in the country. This was the period when the average farmer was a mere clodhopper, a hayseed, a man who managed his little resources so badly that he was in debt to somebody in the town. Somebody in the town taxed him and owned him; and of course that made his lot worse and worse. What he ought to have had as his own profit went as profit to some master in some town.

But pretty soon two other great things came to pass.

Science was applied to agriculture and agricultural machinery was developed. These gave farming a new meaning and a new life.

At the same time our population grew so fast that it began to catch up with our agricultural production. Farm products now form a very small part of our exports. We are on the edge of the importation of food. We use all that we can grow. The farmer gets prices that yield him a profit and he has become a greatly more efficient farmer. The rise in the value of farm lands tells the story. It doubled during the last decade and it keeps rising in price. We are in sight of the day of the dominant farmer. And we are on the edge of the most interesting of all economic conditions in our history—we are coming within sight of the conditions when the equilibrium between town and country will be set up; when each will serve the other and neither will have an undue advantage of the other; when, in a word, American life will cease to be lopsided. And to help bring about this equilibrium is not only the most important thing that men now living have to do but it is the most interesting thing. And I know of no part of the United States where it can be better done than in this commonwealth.

The first aim is to make farm life more prosperous. A man who has no margin of profit can not do much for himself, nor can you do much for him—till he has bettered his condition. To make the farmer more prosperous is the first task.

Now the best method of doing that that was ever hit on in the whole history of the world was the simple and fundamental method of field demonstration worked out by Dr. Knapp. That simple, great old man deserves better of his country than any other man of his time, for he conferred on it a greater benefit than any other man. His method of instruction is now applied in Maine and in North Dakota. There is, in fact, no other method of making better farmers of all the men who now till the earth.

It is more than teaching: it goes a step further: it is organization. Remember that the one big problem of our time is the proper organization of country life. Corn clubs and canning clubs—these are the first steps in the organization of both men and women. And these lead us to the very door of several kinds of economic organization that other countries have already applied and worked out.

One such kind of organization is coöperative buying and selling. This helped Denmark to leap from the place of one of the poorest nations of Europe to the place of the most evenly distributed prosperity, as Mr. Poe has told us. As we go now, the farmer throws away a great profit by his lack of organized selling. You can work it out for yourself. I venture to say that the farmers of North Carolina throw away enough

every year to pay a big dividend on the market price of the tilled land in the State by not buying and selling in compact organizations. This sum is wasted—millions of money—in wrongly directed transportation and in unscientific marketing and buying costs.

Next comes organization for borrowing money for productive farm uses. Now what can be done for men or by men who are below the credit line? Especially what can such a man who lives in the country do to give him the benefit of as efficient organization as the town man has? The most fundamental advantage that the town man has over the country man is his access to money to do his business with.

And now we come to the starting point of the whole matter. The town has taken the surplus capital of the country for its own enterprises and activities and the country man can not get the capital that he needs to do his work with efficiency. And the still deeper trouble is, he hasn't as a rule yet learned to use it wisely if he had it. Now it is this fundamental problem that I especially invite your attention to. And I am willing to declare that if every acre of good land in North Carolina were skillfully tilled by the man that owns it, if the man that owns it were a good business man (that is, if he knew how to use money productively) and if he could get all the money that he could use productively so that he could cultivate his land to the very highest degree and make all the economics that the possession of capital permits—if you can imagine every productive acre in the hands of such a capable man with capital enough for his uses—men and brethren, what would that mean? Calculate it if you can, but you can't calculate it. There would be such plenty and such wealth and such ability and such leisure and such a state of society as no dreamer has ever dreamed of. For there is potential wealth enough between our mountains and our ocean—wealth in the soil—to put every civilization in history to shame.

More than that: the men who are now here are capable of developing it, or of beginning its right development so that more and more good men would come till we had the richest commonwealth in the world—especially since Dr. Ferrell's good work is removing one of the oldest enemies of mankind.

The job is to build up the man and he will build up the soil.

The first thing is to enable him to get money enough for his task. You can't give him money if you had it, for he would not use it wisely. How, then, can you enable him at once to get money and to use it wisely?

I will tell you a little story that Dr. Knapp told me which throws light on the subject. One Sunday he found himself in a village in one of the cotton States and he went to church with the friend at whose house he stayed. The preacher made an elaborate explanation of the

debts and needs of the church. The roof leaked; some of the benches needed mending. They must raise $100 in some way. The Mothers' Sewing and Cradle Society had generously arranged to hold a fair and to give an oyster supper (canned oysters, of course); and the parson hoped the community would generously patronize this work of the good sisters. That was the conventional way to do the thing—to wring $100 from the people who didn't have it to give and didn't wish to give it if they had.

It filled this wise and good old man with pity. After church he walked about the village with his friend. It was in the early spring. He saw a field not very far from the church that had not been planted the year before. "Whose field is that?" "Mr. Johnson's." "To what church does he belong?" "To the church that we attended." "Is he a good citizen, a generous, right-spirited man?" "Yes, pretty good. He didn't plant that field because he expected to sell it."

Well, the upshot of it was, Dr. Knapp went to see Mr. Johnson. Mr. Johnson said of course he would give one year's use of the field to the church, if that would do any good. The men of the church—rather, I should say, the husbands of the women of the church—agreed to work the field. So did the young people of the Sunday School. Dr. Knapp sent them enough selected cotton seed to plant it and one of his demonstrators to show them how to do it. Everybody volunteered a day's work. It was a frolic—a sort of picnic to work the church field. The fair and oyster supper yielded less than $20 net and everybody begrudged the money. The field of cotton brought more than $200 and everybody felt glad that he had worked a day or a half-day in it.

One method created something. The other merely robbed people of what they had. Nobody wanted canned oysters. Everybody wished to learn how to grow as good cotton as that village lot produced. That church was the country man.

Now, to come back, how can you give him the money he needs and teach him to use it?

The thing is so simple that you will not believe it. Let me tell you how it has been done in Germany, where it was begun sixty years ago.

There was a man in Germany sixty years ago named Raiffeisen, a burgomaster, who got it into his head that the debt-ridden and usurer-owned small German farmer could be helped out of his helpless condition by united action. He was a dreamer and a prophet, this Raiffeisen; and against the greatest odds and continuous discouragement he preached his doctrine, was laughed at and regarded as impracticable. At last he organized a society of poor farmers who would band themselves together to borrow small sums of money under the peculiar conditions that he

laid down and he found somebody who would lend them money—in all less than $150 on these peculiar conditions. Then and there started the great economic movement that has made the German people. That is not too much to say. We speak of the German universities as the great makers of Germany, and of their technical schools. The German farmer makes them.

The Raiffeisen credit societies have of course been described many times. An incomplete and somewhat technical description of them will be found in a speech by Senator Fletcher, of Florida, reprinted from the Congressional Record of August 14, 1912.

They are organizations of farmers to borrow money on these terms:

Every member of a local society binds himself for all the debts of all the other members to the society. There is an unlimited liability. Every society is strictly local so that every member will and must know every other member and can have a friendly and neighborly knowledge of his methods of doing business; and it is directly to the interest of every member to help every other member to make his loan profitable.

Every borrower must use the borrowed money for some directly productive purpose approved by the committee of management; and he may use it for nothing else.

Here you will observe you have an organization that in some important respects is directly the antithesis of the joint stock company with which we are familiar and which colors all our thought.

A joint stock company (an incorporated company or corporation, as we call it) is an organization of capital to hire men. A Raiffeisen credit society is an organization of men to hire money.

A corporation is a company to make as much money as possible. A Raiffeisen credit society is an organization to make as little money as money can be borrowed for on the safest possible terms.

A corporation is a company in which shareholders are usually liable only for the amount of their stock. In a Raiffeisen society a member is liable for all the debts to the society of all the members.

A corporation is a machine to make money. A Raiffeisen credit society is a machine to make men—by training them to use money; to bring men who are below the credit line above it; to give the small farmer a chance to command capital and at least as good terms as the city merchant and manufacturer.

Of course there are many other forms of organization whereby farmers borrow money. There are societies whose members mortgage their land and the society issues debentures against these mortgages, which thus make mortgage values liquid—set them in general circulation. But there is no other form of organization to procure credit which so helps

to build up the borrower and to make him a good business man as the Raiffeisen method.

And what our country man wants is not only money. He wants help. He doesn't know how to manage money. But if his neighbors put themselves in the same boat with him and they all work together, the experience of more than half a century has shown that they all learn how to manage money—become economic men and get themselves above the credit line. These societies grew in Germany from 1,700 in 1890 to 15,000 in 1910. The average number of members of each society is 92. In 1909 they lent to their members more than two hundred millions of dollars and they had outstanding loans of more than four hundred million dollars.

The losses are less than in the usual forms of bank loans—a good deal less. In a word, poor country men when thus banded together for mutual help become the safest borrowers in the world—better than governments, or railroads, or cities, or States.

The credit societies spread from one country to another till they have covered the greater part of Europe except England and Russia. The Italian farmer has been made over, as the German and Belgian farmer has been saved by them. The transactions of these societies in Italy have become one of the great banking enterprises of the kingdom. They have been organized even in India. In Ireland they play an important part in the regeneration of the people and in the building up of the land.

Sir Horace Plunkett, the great leader of Irish regeneration, explained them to me by describing neighborhoods that had been transformed by such a society. The men were quarrelsome—more quarrelsome were their wives. No family had much to do with any neighboring family—except to criticise it. And they were all hopelessly poor.

After they were organized into a credit society, Pat borrowed $50 to buy an additional cow and Mike $50 to buy additional land and so on. Pat and Mike had despised one another and had expressed the polite opinion that neither was worth hell-room, which Sir Horace, himself an Irishman, remarked was true.

Very well: in a little while Mike concluded he'd go to see Pat and see how he was getting on with his new cow. For they were equally bound to pay for her. Bridget was doing very well with the cow. Bridget wasn't such an infernally quarrelsome woman after all. Pat soon returned the call to see what Mike was doing with his new land. Mike was working it pretty well. There might be something good in that fellow after all. And so all around those quarrelsome neighborhood families came to know one another by helping one another and by being

bound in a common bond. The whole community changed. They organized themselves for other purposes. They saved themselves and they can now command capital for any productive uses they have.

There are historic changes similar to this that have taken place in German neighborhoods.

But I do not wish to leave the impression that these credit societies are only for men who have fallen low in the economic and social scale. They are for all men on farms. They are simply machinery to get money in small sums on long loans at low interest—money to put into productive uses on the land, good alike for rich and poor.

And they have this supreme advantage over any mere mortgage plan of borrowing—they band men together so that they are obliged to help one another.

Consider this difference. A man mortgages his land and gets money. He doesn't even like to let his neighbors know that he has done such a thing. He carries his burden alone.

Another man pledges himself to help his neighbors borrow and his neighbor returns the compliment. They are both in the same boat. Not only does each know the other's condition: each is bound to help the other. There's a world of difference.

The fundamental problem of all is the building up of the country man. The main task in building up the country man is to enable him to get money to develop his land and to train him to the safe and wise use of money. See where this would lead. There is hardly an acre of land in North Carolina that would not well repay the wise investment of more money on it. Most of the acres in cultivation are bound to have money spent on them before they can yield good profits. And only a small part of the land in North Carolina is yet under any kind of cultivation at all.

Try to calculate the sum of money that could be wisely spent on all the arable land in North Carolina if it were all worked by men who knew their business and could manage money wisely—what a vast sum this investment calls for! Well, it's obliged to come; the sooner it comes the sooner shall we come into the wealth that awaits us. This is our great task and the task of several generations that come after us. Our wealth and our well being will increase as fast as we do it.

I have no doubt that the principle of the Raiffeisen credit society will be adopted in North Carolina sooner or later. I have come here to see if we may not do ourselves the honor to adopt it here before anybody else in the United States adopts it.

The farm demonstration organization leads in the right direction. These unselfish men are directly preparing the way for such credit societies. They bring men to the very door of such a thought.

The difficult part of the task is to make a beginning. To make a beginning two things are necessary—first, to find a community of farmers who are willing to borrow money cheap and for a long time on such conditions, each to pledge himself for the other's debt. Let them organize. Let them appoint a managing committee. Let the managing committee pass on the applications and reject or approve them. Let them select a cashier, who is the only paid officer of the organization and who is, in fact, little more than a responsible bookkeeper.

Then the money must be got at first from some outside source. In a little while these societies will have money of their own, for their members would deposit their earnings with them as in a savings bank. But at first somebody must lend the money.

Let us come down to practical action. We do not get far by merely discussing the general principle. Call a meeting in Raleigh of men who are willing to lend a little money at six per cent for say four years on this best of all security, to be paid back in installments; and let us get together a few thousand dollars. Then find a neighborhood in the country where men will band themselves together in the way I have described to borrow it and to put it to productive uses. Neither of these tasks will be hard to do.

You will start a great movement and make a great chapter in North Carolina history. You will be surprised to find how rapidly the idea will grow and spread and how many millions of dollars will very soon go through these channels to the productive development of the soil and to the making of our farmers into business men.

I should like the honor of being among the first group formed either to lend money in this way or I should like to have the honor to be one of the first group of borrowers, or I should be willing to be both. We need money down in Richmond and Moore counties where I have a farm, every man of us who has land there. I am not afraid to join my fortunes with the fortunes of my best neighbors and agree (all for each) to borrow your money for productive uses. I am not afraid to lend money to any such group of men in Wake County or in any county in the State.

Let us try it. And while we perfect our arrangements, let some good North Carolina lawyer who loves his fellows look into the State statutes to see what enactment may be needed to legalize this sort of a transaction, and if any be necessary, let us ask the incoming Legislature to enact it.

This is a wide vista—to work to the securing of capital enough properly to develop all the productive land in North Carolina, and at the same time to develop all the men on the land.

But this is only the beginning of such an enterprise. Remember that

this would require many hundreds of millions of dollars, that it would be invested productively, that it would be more safely secured than any other money that men now invest; and remember that every borrower of it would be using it not only to make his own independence but also to train himself and all his neighbors into better business habits, into a higher financial character and a greater economic force. All this is much. But there is another great task that this would do.

You have heard of a money trust in the United States or of a credit trust—an irresistible force which draws all our movable money into the reach of great money barons for their own uses, legitimate and speculative. Congress investigates this grave problem; politicians discuss it; economists write about it.

This great trust is not a consciously malevolent body of men who sat down and deliberately made this machinery that draws our money within their uses. It is the natural and necessary result of our financial and economic organization—of the organization by the town for the town.

Suppose we set a plan afoot which would draw one hundred million dollars to North Carolina farms. Suppose every other undeveloped rural State did the same thing. Then we should not hear more of a great national money trust. Our money would not be moved to New York. On the contrary, New York money would seek us because of the great safety of this form of investment which we had to offer.

A by-product of the proper organization of country finance would be the removal of our greatest financial evil.

It is always so when you set one class of men free here, you soon discover that you have set another class free somewhere else. Freedom begets freedom. And the only real freedom is economic freedom. The only sound basis of life is a sound economic basis.

We need money—incalculable millions of money—to save and rightly to use, to develop and to make beautiful this great heritage of ours. What have we to attract money, to pay money to come to us? We have our land and our country men. Money runs after a strong man. A little man runs after money; and money runs from a fool.

Now if the honest country men of North Carolina who own their own land will band together, trusting one another, and will borrow money to use in productively developing their land, they will be stronger than Wall Street or than any money trust. Money always runs to safe places. If we make this place safe, it will come to us. We can empty the savings banks; we can tap the great insurance funds; we can draw men and money from all the world. We need only so to preserve and to develop our land as to make it the most famous land in the world and so to use

money in getting riches out of it as to prove that it is the safest land in the world—and that our country men are the safest people.

And do you want literature? With this result you will have something better than literature; but literature will come along with the other arts.

For all things come in a great democracy of men who trust one another, a democracy that really believes in itself and that rests on a care free, happy people who till their own soil well. For this is the only form of wealth and the only basis of happiness that can not pass.

North Carolina Bibliography for 1912

Report by Miss Minnie W. Leatherman, Secretary of the North Carolina Library Commission, to the State Literary and Historical Association, December 4, 1912.

In the first place I want to apologize for any sins of omission which this bibliography may betray, and to ask to be informed of any item, or items, which I may unwittingly omit. Anyone attempting the compilation of such a bibliography is confronted with certain difficulties at the outset; but the *North Carolina Review* is of inestimable benefit in this connection, and I take pleasure in expressing my indebtedness to this publication.

The bibliography is arranged under the following heads: : General; Fiction; Compilations, Editions and Translations; Textbooks; and Continuations. Works are arranged alphabetically by author under each head.

I. GENERAL.

Cheshire, Rt. Rev. Joseph Blount. The Church in the Confederate States; a history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States. Longmans (December 14), 1911. 291 pages, D., $1.50 net.

Connor, Robert Digges Wimberly and Poe, C. H. Life and Speeches of Charles Brantley Aycock. Doubleday, 1912. 369 pages, illustrated, D., $1.50; leather, $2.50.

Ellis, Alexander Caswell and Kyle, E. J. Fundamentals of Farming and Farm Life. Scribner. 557 pages, illustrated.

Hahn, George W. Catawba Soldier of the Civil War. Hickory, Clay Printing Company, 1911. 385 pages, illustrated, O., $1.70.

Horne, Herman Harrell. Free Will and Human Responsibility: A Philosophical Argument. Macmillan, 1912. 197 pages, D., $1.50 net.

Johnston, Charles Hughes. High School Education; Professional Treatments of the Administrative, Supervisory, and Specifically Pedagogical. Functions of Secondary Education, with Special Reference to American Conditions. Scribner, 1912. 555 pages, D., $1.50 net.

Lyle, Samuel Harley, Jr. By-Ways Franklin, North Carolina. Published by the author, 1912. 28 pages, O., paper, 50 cents net.

McBee, Silas. An Eirenic Itinerary: Impressions of Our Tour; with Addresses and Papers on the Unity of Christian Churches. Longmans (November), 1911. 225 pages, illustrated, D., $1.00 net.

MOOSE, J. ROBERT. Village Life in Korea. Nashville, Publishing House M. E. Church, South (September), 1911. 242 pages, O., $1.00.

PEMBERTON, VIRGINIA CARROLL. Letters From Italy, Switzerland, and Germany. Cincinnati. Jennings, 1912. 196 pages, illustrated, D., $1.

POE, CLARENCE HAMILTON. Where Half the World is Waking Up; the Old and the New in Japan, China, the Philippines, and India; reported with special reference to American conditions. Doubleday (December), 1911. 276 pages, illustrated, O., $1.25 net.

POE, CLARENCE HAMILTON. Joint Author. See Connor, Robert Digges Wimberly.

RAPER, CHARLES LEE. Railway Transportation: a History of Its Economics and of Its Relation to the States; Based, with the Author's Permission, upon President Hadley's "Railroad Transportation: Its History and Its Laws." Putnam, 1912. 331 pages, O., $1.50 net.

SHEPHERD, HENRY ELLIOTT. Representative Authors of Maryland, from the Earliest Time to the Present Day; With Biographical Notes and Comments Upon Their Work. Whitehall Publishing Company (May 15), 1911. 234 pages, illustrated, D., $1.50.

SMITH, CHARLES ALPHONSO. American Short Story. Ginn, 1912. 50 pages, D., 60 cents net. School edition, 50 cents net.

This is Chapter XVI of his Die Amerikanische Literatur.

SMITH, CHARLES ALPHONSO. Die Amerikanische Literatur; vorlesungen gehalten an der koeniglichen Friedrich Wilhelms-Universitat zu Berlin. Lemcke, 1912. 388 pages, D., $1.65 net.

II. FICTION.

DIXON, THOMAS, JR. Sins of the Father; a Romance of the South. Appleton, 1912. 462 pages, illustrated, D., $1.35 net.

MORGAN, ALICE. Boy Who Brought Christmas; illustrated by John Jackson. Doubleday (October), 1911. 139 pages, D. Boards, 50 cents net.

ROBINSON, CELLA MYROVER. Rowena's Happy Summer; with pictures by Hope Dunlap. Rand, McNally, 1912. 104 pages, D., 60 cents net.

TIERNAN, MRS. FRANCES CHRISTINE (Fisher). (Christian Reid, pseud). Light of the Vision. Notre Dame, Ave Maria Press, 1911. 362 pages, D., $1.25.

Noel: A Christmas Story. Columbia Press, 1911. 10 cents.

Wargrave Trust, Benziger (November), 1911. 384 pages, D., $1.25.

III. COMPILATIONS, EDITIONS, TRANSLATIONS.

Grimes, J. Bryan, Compiler. North Carolina Wills and Inventories, Copied from Original and Recorded Wills and Inventories in the Office of the Secretary of State. Edwards & Broughton, 1912. 578 pages, O., $3.00.

Henderson, Archibald, and Henderson, Mrs. Barbara. Translators. Boutroux, Emile. William James; translated from the second edition. Longmans, 1912. 126 pages, D., $1.00 net.

Register of the North Carolina Society of the Colonial Dames of America. Raleigh. Printed for the Society (Edwards & Broughton), 1912. 233 pages.

Royster, James F., Editor. Shakespeare, William. Love's Labour's Lost. Macmillan, 1912. 149 pages (Tudor Shakespeare).

IV. TEXTBOOKS.

Brooks, Eugene Clyde, Compiler and Editor. North Carolina Poems; selected and edited with an introduction, notes, and biographical sketches. Raleigh, North Carolina Education, 1912. 160 pages; paper, 50 cents; cloth, $1.00.

Fulton, Maurice Garland. Expository Writing; Materials for a College Course in Exposition by Analysis and Imitation. Macmillan, 1912. 555 pages, D., $1.40 net.

Howe, George. Latin Sight Reader. Raleigh, Thompson Publishing Company, 1912. 87 pages, D., $1.50.

Smith, Charles Alphonso, Editor. Selections from Huxley. Holt, 1912. 151 pages, S., 35 cents net. (English readings for schools).

V. CONTINUATIONS.

James Sprunt Historical Publications:

Volume X, No. 1, Hamilton, J. G. de Roulhac. Benjamin Sherwood Hedrick.

VolumeX, No. 2, Barlett Yancey, by George A. Anderson; The Political and Professional Career of Bartlett Yancey, by J. G. de R. Hamilton; Letters to Bartlett Yancey, edited by Dr. Hamilton.

North Carolina Yearbook and Business Directory, 1912. *News and Observer.* 564 pages, map, D., $2.00.

Weeks, Stephen B. Index to the Colonial and State Records of North Carolina, Volume 3, M-R. Charlotte, Observer Printing House, 1911.

North Carolina Booklet:

Volume XI, No. 3, Connor, R. D. W., "Sir Walter Raleigh and His Associates"; Cobb, Collier, "Governor Benjamin Smith"; Haywood, Marshall Delancey, "Story of Queen's College."

Volume XI, No. 4, Connor, H. G., "James Iredell, 1751-1799"; Smith, C. L., "Davidson Caldwell, Teacher, Preacher, Patriot"; Connor, R. D. W., "Governor Samuel Johnston."

Volume XII, No. 1. Wiley, Calvin H., "Swannanoa"; McNeely, R. N., "Union County and the Old Waxhaw Settlement"; Haywood, M. deL., "The Masonic Revolutionary Patriots of North Carolina"; Diary of George Washington; Cameron, Rebecca, "A Partisan Leader in 1776."

Volume XII, No. 2, Henderson, Archibald, "Elizabeth Maxwell Steel: Patriot"; Patterson, Mrs. Lindsay, "Palmyra in the Hoppy Valley"; Cobb, Collier, "Forests of North Carolina"; Trinity College Historical Society, "Annual Publication of Historical Papers, Series IX."

The *North Carolina Review, South Atlantic Quarterly, North Carolina Education, North Carolina Library Bulletin,* and the magazines of the various colleges and universities have been issued as usual. The *Alumni Review* is a new publication of the University of North Carolina.

It may be of some slight interest to compare the foregoing with the literary output of the entire United States. As a critic has recently said, "Books are still being published in this country." Statistics for the present year are not yet available, but last year there were published 10,400, an average of about 206 for each State. Considering the number of new books from the standpoint of population North Carolina should have produced about 260 books. To her credit be it said that she is responsible for only 31. We are not so much concerned with quantity as with quality. A State that has to her credit in a single year such books as Bishop Cheshire's, Dr. Smith's, Professor Horne's, Dr. Raper's, Mr. Poe's, Dr. and Mrs. Henderson's translation, and "The Life and Speeches of Charles B. Aycock" may well be proud of her record, and indifferent to the fact that the saying of Solomon on this subject, "Of making many books there is no end," is not applicable to North Carolina.

Neglected Phases of North Carolina History

Address by W. K. Boyd, Ph.D., Professor of History in Trinity College, Before the State Literary and Historical Association, December 4, 1912.

"The world's memory must be kept alive or we shall never see an end of its old mistakes. We are in danger to become infantile in every generation. This is the real menace under which we cower in this age of change."

In these words the President-elect of the United States has stated the practical value of history and the function of the historian. Accurate knowledge, sympathy, and prophetic insight, which give ability to meet the problems of today, can not be secured without an acquaintance with the conditions of yesterday. It is the high privilege of the historian to furnish that knowledge, to awaken that sympathy, and to inspire a vision of humanity's real needs. He must, therefore, continually refresh the world's memory, ever recalling events and ideas half forgotten in order that a proper conception of cause and effect may be established between the new experience of today and the phenomena of yesterday. For this reason history must be constantly rewritten. The experience of each generation must be correlated with that of the preceding; its predominant interests must be analyzed as forces of the past as well as of the present.

Indeed the historiography of Europe and America has been little more than a series of appeals to memory whose nature has been shaped by the rise and decline of the varied interests of humanity. In the primitive stages of historical activity the ancestral motive has always been predominant, and biography is the earliest type of history. Witness the heroic myths of the early Greeks, the lives of Plutarch, the legends of the mediæval saints, and in our own country Jared Sparks's biographies of the founders of the republic. Gradually interest in the fathers widens into a sense of national existence; the story of expansion and conquest and to some extent that of governmental organization, are then emphasized. Polybius told the story of the rise and expansion of the Roman state; Macchiavelli brought a similar interest to the historiography of early modern history; Voltaire and Montesquieu to that of the eighteenth century.

In the first half of the nineteenth century the world's memory was invoked concerning two phases of experience comparatively neglected; these were the institutional and the economic. The political reorganiza-

tion of Europe required new adjustments in government; light on the problem was sought from the past. Scholars and publicists searched the customs of the early Germans and the provincials of the Roman Empire in order to find an institutional basis for a new Germany and a new France. From the continent the study of institutional history spread first to England, then to the United States, creating a host of books too large, and many of them too dull, to be read in one short lifetime. Contemporary with political reorganization occurred those changes in the production and distribution of wealth generally known as the industrial revolution. In the hour of readjustment the world's memory was again invoked, and today a modest inquiry about the industrial experience of previous centuries is met by a veritable deluge of economic histories. In more recent years there has been a growing conviction that the solution of human problems does not lie entirely in institutions or "the meat that perishes"; the world's memory is again being invoked in order to recall what man has thought, how his knowledge has been transmitted, the nature of his religion, and even what he has hoped or dreamed to be. Thus more emphasis is being placed on social or cultural history; some call it the new history.

Now it is my purpose to inquire how far the study and writing of North Carolina history has kept pace with these world movements in historiography; how the memory of life in Carolina may contribute to the larger story of our country's development, and how our history may become of service in meeting the complex problems of the present.

Biography, the most primitive manifestation of the historical impulse, has long had an honorable place in the literature of North Carolina history. Indeed, the biographies of North Carolinians far outnumber the histories of the State, general or monographic. There are certain organizations whose chief purpose is to perpetuate the memory of distinguished men. The rotunda of the Capitol will soon be filled with memorial statues, and seven volumes of a Biographical History of North Carolina have been published, with others to follow. This instinct for biography is a worthy one, for to give leadership its proper place in the story of progress requires an insight and a creative art of the highest order; especially should it be fostered in the present day when there is an undue tendency in historical writings to emphasize impersonal forces to the exclusion of the power that comes from a great personality. Nor has there been lacking in North Carolina an active interest in political development, that second stage in the growth of historical interest. Francis Xavier Martin and Hugh Williamson, inspired by the success of the revolution and the promise before the nascent state, set for themselves the task of describing the origin and

growth of the commonwealth they loved so well. An insufficiency of sources, a lack of perspective on account of the very nearness of the past era they described, and the dominant taste in historical writing made their works little more than annals, but all who have since undertaken their task, with the exception of Hawks, have followed their method.

Here, then, the correlation of historical activity in North Carolina with the wide course of historiography, national and international, ceases. In this age that demands a rational explanation of all phenomena, where can be found a genetic treatment of those institutions of government and law, which, perhaps more than all other influences, convey a conception of North Carolina? The last four decades have witnessed a social and economic transformation among us equaled in modern history only by that from feudal to imperial Japan; but not only is the accurate knowledge of experience during these years so requisite to meet the problems of today lacking, but the more ancient landmarks antedating the present era are almost lost to view. Here, indeed, is the menace that confronts this "age of change"; flushed with a realization of its new-born power, it may become so infantile as to live without consciousness of a past; if so, that correlation of the problems of the present with previous experience, so essential in all human affairs, will be lacking, and old mistakes will be made anew.

The best evidence of this criticism is the fact that there is no comprehensive history of North Carolina from the close of the Revolution to 1860. It is true that a few monographs have been written and a few books published on some phases of the period, but there is no well rounded presentation that might be designated a history. Yet in the light of present conditions, those years were vastly important in the development of North Carolina. The fundamental economic, intellectual, and religious forces in the life of today were then either established or, if previously existing, they were profoundly affected. Also the normal political tendencies of the people were more active then than before or since. In short, life in North Carolina between the close of the Revolution and the opening of the Civil War underwent a profound transformation; no intelligent conception of progress in the State, social or industrial, can be formed without some intensive knowledge of this middle period. Yet there is no organization dedicated to its achievements and its workers, no group of students bending their efforts to its investigation, and little or no public historical interest in it.

A more concrete illustration of this limitation of our historical interests is that the history of a large, and I believe the most important section of the State, has been to a large degree neglected. I refer to the

Piedmont section, which extends from a line passing through Raleigh westward to the mountains. The attempted colonization at Roanoke Island, the early days of Albemarle, the development of the Cape Fear region, the rise of the Revolution, the Civil War, and to some extent Reconstruction, have secured a large and permanent place in our traditional history, but they were all primarily eastern movements, and the east suffered and triumphed most in them. It is true that there are a few works relating to the religious and racial origins of the Piedmont, as well as a few county histories, but in none of them is there an adequate treatment of the section in the period when it rose to power in politics and became a leader in intellectual life, viz.: from the close of the Revolution to 1860. In biography there are a number of volumes on eastern leaders and a host of biographical addresses and pamphlets, while on the makers of the Piedmont section there are less than six volumes and barely a handful of pamphlets. Moreover, eastern leaders are memorialized in the names of western counties to a far greater extent than the leaders of the Piedmont. In the light of these facts, the next advance in historical interest in North Carolina should be towards a better understanding of this neglected region, during an equally neglected period, viz., from the close of the Revolution to 1860. The material relating to its history should be reclaimed from the garret, the woodhouse, and other "corroding teeth of time," and certain phases of its development should be worked out. With no claims to prophecy and with knowledge of a limited number of sources, let me outline some questions for investigation in this section during the period of its rise to power and leadership.

First of all the economic conditions require serious consideration, for then as today they presented the most notable phenomena of the region. From 1790 to 1830 the relative rank of North Carolina among the States in respect to population declined from third to fifth. The valuation of the lands in 1833 showed a decline over that of 1815, although a million acres had been entered for occupation. A deep sense of depression characterized all discussions of the resources and opportunities of life in North Carolina. The cause most frequently given for this was the condition of trade. From colonial days a lack of harbors and a physiographic sectionalism forced the North Carolinian to seek markets beyond State borders. The cost of transportation made profits very small and wealth hard to acquire. Moreover, the absence of domestic trading centers prevented that mingling of people which was necessary to break down the prejudice born of divers racial elements and political sectionalism.

The effect of this condition of trade upon the Piedmont was especially

harmful. With the exception of Fayetteville its markets were Charleston, South Carolina, Petersburg and Norfolk, Virginia, and Philadelphia. No one can read the accounts of the disadvantages of the Piedmont farmer and the large amount he added to the profits of the South Carolina and Virginia merchants without being reminded of the advantage in freight rates which Virginia cities enjoy today. Doubtless this disadvantage in matters of trade was the basis of the characterization of North Carolina as "a valley of despondency between two mountains of conceit."

But the details of this condition of trade are scarcely known; for instance, what was the cost of living in that day of distant markets? The standard illustration in the pamphlets advocating roads and railways was the cost of salt in Statesville, fifty cents a bushel; might not other prices be obtained from diaries, account books, family correspondence, and advertisements in the newspapers? Then, how did these prices compare with those paid by the planters of Eastern Virginia and lower South Carolina? Not until an answer is found to these inquiries can the actual loss sustained by the Carolinian of the interior through trade conditions be estimated. Furthermore, the distance of markets retarded the growth of a credit system in commerce; this in turn created a demand for bank notes; and the consequent inflation of the currency brought about speculation and panics. Now the printed sources at present available describing this situation are limited; there is need for information showing the influence of commerce on the life of the people in various communities and sections, and the resulting attitude of the electorate toward public economic questions, State and national.

Such a condition of trade gave rise to the movement for better transportation facilities by State aid, first for canals and waterways, then for turnpikes and railroads. This was the chief economic feature of the epoch from 1850 to 1860, and it did much to create a prosperity that stands in strong contrast to the preceding years. From the reports of surveys and the various navigation, turnpike and railway companies, an outline of the new means of transportation can be obtained; but for the effects of the life of the people the sources are almost entirely silent. Illustrative of this fact is that nothing is known of the rise of land values except that which comes from the reassessment reported by the treasurer; nor to what extent prices were affected, or how the acquisition of wealth was improved, or the way in which sectional antagonism and provincialism were alleviated. A good example from unwritten local history is found in Anson County. For years its people had been compelled to make the long, difficult journey either to Fayetteville or

Charleston in search of a market. In the thirties the Fayetteville and Western Turnpike was chartered to connect Fayetteville and Salisbury; the surveys marked the road through Anson. At once property values increased and a new town was established along the proposed route which, by virtue of location, promised to be a commercial emporium for the surrounding country. Its name was Sneedsborough. But, alas, the Fayetteville and Western Turnpike never reached the Anson line. Deprived of its commercial asset, Sneedsborough languished, became a straggling village, and today is hardly known beyond the confines of the county. Now a student of Georgia history has enumerated a score of towns in that State, whose fate was determined by the process of economic development.* Who can tell how many Sneedsboroughs rose and declined during the age of road and railway building in North Carolina?

The material for reconstructing these phases of the life of the past lie largely in local or family records that are fast disappearing. For instance, a few years ago one of the contractors engaged in building the North Carolina Railroad died. He had been a large trader under the old system of commerce; his correspondence was extensive and he had kept the letters he had received; but these were sold with a lot of old furniture at the executor's sale, and the buyer burned them. How many similar collections of letters, old account books, diaries, or bills of sale yet survive in your community and mine?

Transportation was by no means the only economic problem of the Piedmont in the middle period. There was a strong impulse toward manufactures. Deprived of easy markets, the people were thrown on their own resources for manufactured goods. In 1794 Tench Coxe described a number of North Carolina industries; later, in 1810, he estimated that the value of manufactures in North Carolina produced under the old domestic system was greater than that of Massachusetts under both the domestic and factory systems. Now it is perfectly apparent that the prospects for a great development of manufactures was checked on the one hand by the industrial revolution in New England, and on the other by the extension into the Piedmont of an agricultural system based on slavery and cotton. But the manufacturing impulse was not obliterated by these forces. There was a class of small manufacturers such as makers of carriages, wagons, and farm implements, coopers, wheelwrights, distillers, tanners, hatters, and makers of boots and shoes, cabinets and chairs, who thrived down to 1860. Indeed, if the antebellum industrial promise had been entirely fulfilled today, manufactures would be more diversified than they are. The greatest

*Jones: Dead Towns of Georgia.

danger to these industries was really not slavery but the competition of manufactures of other States and the distant markets. Protection was sought in a series of laws which imposed discriminatory license taxes. Peddlers or salesmen of carriages not made in North Carolina were required to pay a tax of $30 in each county, and establishments selling carriages, any part of which was made of material imported into the State, were taxed $100; but if the carriages were made entirely of North Carolina material the tax was only $50. Likewise drummers selling goods not grown or manufactured in the State were taxed $50; peddlers retailing on land the manufactures of other States paid a tax of $20 in each county; the retailer of liquors was required to pay ten per cent if his stock was bought outside of North Carolina; if he patronized home distillers he paid only five per cent. Now these laws were clearly in conflict with the Federal Constitution; but the North Carolina legislators either never read that document or, if they did, they disregarded it. Nothing better illustrates the contrast between interstate commerce regulations then and now than these provisions of the antebellum revenue code. Now if these taxes protecting the North Carolina manufacturer against his competitor in Virginia and South Carolina were a good thing, was not a national law affording protection to all American manufactures against foreign competition also something to be desired? It is not surprising therefore to find Governor Morehead explaining to the Legislature of 1842 the true doctrine and benefits of the protective principle.

There were two very suggestive manifestations of this industrial spirit in North Carolina worthy of emphasis. They were strongly in evidence in the decade before the Civil War. First was a tendency toward industrial independence of other States, especially those of the North and East. The number of manufacturing establishments increased thirty-eight per cent from 1850 to 1860, the capital invested thirty per cent and the products eighty-three per cent. Contemporary with this development the *Raleigh Standard,* the most influential newspaper of the time, called on the people to patronize home merchants and manufactures in preference to those of the North. "We must learn," said the editor, "as a people to stand alone and to live as much as possible within ourselves." Thus a conviction grew that North Carolina was different from the sister States, a kind of industrial State pride developed which tended to widen into a sense of sectional nationality. Undoubtedly here was an economic basis for the secession sentiment that triumphed in 1861. The other manifestation of the industrial spirit was the rise of class consciousness on the part of the mechanics and those not identified with the slave system. It found expression in the

ad valorem taxation campaign of 1858 and 1860, and had it not been for the national issue of the latter year the Whig party would probably have carried the State on the *ad valorem* issue.

Now all the information at present available regarding the industries and the industrial class in North Carolina is in a comparatively small number of sources. We need a search for more information. Moreover, how thoroughly the manufacturing spirit permeated the Piedmont, and the continuity between it and the industrial phenomena of today, have yet to be revealed; also, the amount and the distribution of the wealth derived from the State protection to industries offers a worthy subject for study as well as the class feeling against slavery prior to the *ad valorem* campaign. Here is an opportunity to make a study of those conditions which most differentiated North Carolina from the larger slave holding States in the past and which have established its industrial supremacy of today.

These economic conditions are not merely of local importance; they are vitally related to the social history of the Southwest and the Northwest. Attracted by better opportunities hosts of North Carolinians joined the endless procession of the migration to those regions. All estimates of the migration from North Carolina prior to 1830 run into the hundreds of thousands, and from 1830 to 1840 population, on account of it, was at a standstill. The North Carolinians in Alabama and Georgia stood together in politics and often shaped the results of elections. Yet for specific information regarding the contribution of North Carolina to the life of other regions, one must turn to the local histories of other States.† Here is an opportunity for a genealogist with a feeling for the larger social movements among the people, a socialized genealogist, who will trace the families or members of families that migrated from North Carolina, find where they settled, and what they individually and collectively contributed to the life of the new region.

Economic problems were not the only phenomena of the Piedmont section during the middle period. It is very significant that while improvements were being made in transportation from 1830 to 1860, a corresponding advance was made in intellectual conditions. The public school laws of 1838 and 1840 were the first of their kind in the South and they stimulated the cause of education elsewhere. But of the intellectual equipment of the schools we know very little; what, for instance, was the curriculum, what were the textbooks, and how did these compare with the educational activity in other States? Older than the public schools, and surviving long after they were established,

†Gilmer: Sketches of the First Settlers of Early Georgia. Saunders and Stubbs: Early Settlers of Alabama.

were the private academies. Of them even less is known than of the public schools. What were the influences that established them, and the relation of these influences to the movement for public education? What were the curriculum and equipment of the private academies? The descent of the academy in New England from the English-Latin schools has been established; were the academies in North Carolina an isolated phenomena, or have they, too, a part in the evolution of education in the United States?

The question of the schools naturally leads to that of popular standards of education and illiteracy. Much light on these matters might be found in the local records. One of the leading investigators of Virginia history has examined the court records and noted the educational requirements in the bonds given by those to whom children were apprenticed or bound out. Thus a conception is obtained of the standard of the educational needs of the common man. How far that standard was effective, so far as illiteracy was concerned, is then ascertained by taking a thousand signatures in the court records and noting how many of them were made by mark. The proportion of this illiteracy to the thousand is taken for the average of the county.[1] Would not a similar examination of the court records of certain typical counties in North Carolina give a better idea than we now have of the educational efficiency of the old time schools? Intellectual life, both in the sense of the development of ideas and the story of a cultivated class, has not been the subject of extensive historical inquiry. What aid its investigation would give in understanding mankind, past and present, remains to be realized.

Any inquiry into the educational history of a people necessarily involves questions pertaining to religion. The more primitive the conditions of life, the more powerful are the religious perceptions. Comparative religion explains this by finding that creeds grow up of customs, and in the early stages of religion customs are shaped by social needs, as protection against the blind forces of nature, public enemies, or "the pestilence of noonday." Consequently in the transfer of religious institutions from other colonies and the Old World to North Carolina, creeds had a larger hold on the minds of the people than today, because religion was a social bond as well as an attitude toward the Infinite. A familiar example is the Quakers of Albemarle; less widely known is that of the Baptists of the Piedmont. About the middle of the eighteenth century a group of New Jersey Baptists settled on the Yadkin and two other groups left Virginia and found new homes in Alamance and Anson counties. Here are examples of that coloniza-

[1]Bruce: Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century.

tion by groups and congregations which characterized New England; a further study of the matter would doubtless forever destroy that ancient contrast between the Cavalier of the South and the Puritan of New England. The same bond that caused such settlements welded the people together in later years. Around it developed an educational sentiment when public schools were a dreamer's vision. It shaped opinions on such important social questions as Free Masonry, the morality of slavery, and prohibition. Finally it became a factor in politics. David Caldwell had a part in framing the first Constitution of the State and did much to save the Piedmont for the Revolution. Elkanah Watson heard a sermon against the Federal Constitution in a church in Warren County; a number of ministers were elected to the Legislature and two to Congress. But the story of religion as a large social bond among people not only remains to be written, but the sources from which it might be written are widely scattered or lost. I believe that the records can best be rescued and the story written by small sections, perhaps county by county.

With these fundamental economic and social conditions explained, the course of political development can be understood. Too long has the study of politics been divorced from an adequate knowledge of what the people needed, of what they thought, or of what they dreamed to be. Especially is this true of Piedmont North Carolina. Here has always been a restiveness and an uncertainty in political opinion which has made, then destroyed, more than one promising political career. The ancient antagonism of the West and the East grew out of an economic and social, as well as a political, cleavage. Moreover, it was the economic and social need that created the two great anomalies in our antebellum history; one, that North Carolina should have supported the movement to recharter the second Bank of the United States, the protective tariff, and internal improvements by Federal aid, when these measures were opposed by the South at large; the other, that the Whig party should have found its strength in those portions of North Carolina in which the slave system did not dominate, and the democracy in those where it did, while the situation in the far South was just the reverse.

For every need there is a remedy, for every task a method. How can these neglected phases of the past be best recalled to memory and given their proper place in our history? I believe only by a twofold survey of the political, economic and social heritage of North Carolina; one based on the smallest available local unit, presumably the county and the sources relating to it; the other based on a State-wide organization, general sources and archives. For each the following suggestions are offered.

In the investigation by counties more emphasis than has been customary should be placed on economic conditions. An estimate of the natural resources can be obtained from the various publications of the State Geological Survey, of which an excellent bibliography has been published.[1] How these resources have been utilized is a more difficult question. Such matters as the average size of farms, the development of the labor system, the products of the land and land values, trade routes, prices, industries, and population, should be analyzed as far as possible. For this purpose the United States Census official records, printed and manuscript, private correspondence, diaries, and account books should be carefully examined. To collect and classify such details requires an almost infinite amount of patience, and often an apparently undue attention to useless details. But such information, culled from a variety of sources, plantation by plantation, county by county, are the material used in reconstructing the economic life of Europe; they will prove equally illuminating, not only for the economic history of North Carolina, but for that of the entire South.

Closely related to economic conditions are racial origins, for they have been quite a factor in shaping industries in the new world. Admirable examples of what may be done with this phase of the past is found in Mr. Frank Nash's "History of Orange County" and Nixon's "German Settlements of Lincoln County." [2] More difficult is a proper use of the art of genealogy. Names of departed citizens may be found in large numbers; but such essential data as their occupation, and, if they left their homes, whence they migrated and why, are rarely stated, though they might throw considerable light on the larger economic questions of the past.

The history of religion may best be given a reality when studied locally, for questions of theology are necessarily eliminated and the church as a factor in social life naturally has a clearer perspective than in the general histories of denominations. Consequently the local church records should be collected and carefully examined; in them much information will be found regarding amusements, relations between whites and blacks, standards of education, as well as the ways in which organized religion has expressed itself. If nothing more was done than to bring together in one place the records of the churches, the attempt at a county history would be justified, for a sense of the value of material too often left to waste and oblivion would be diffused, and this would lead to the collection of other sources.

Educational history in the sense of the rise of a public opinion con-

[1]Laney and Wood: Bibliography of North Carolina Geology, Mineralogy, and Geography. Bulletin 18, North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey.
[2]North Carolina Booklet, October, 1910; James Sprunt Historical Publications, Vol. XI, No. 2.

cerning knowledge and the duty to impart it, can best be visualized through county history. For example, there is in the collections of the Trinity College Historical Society a letter written in 1884 from John C. Scarborough, Superintendent of Education, to an officer of Lenoir County interpreting the Dortch School Law of 1877 to mean that a local tax for school purposes, once voted, to be permanent; also there is an affidavit by a citizen of that county that he had not signed a petition for a second election on school taxes. These documents at once suggest an inquiry into the early steps in the reconstruction of public education since the war; the Dortch law must be read; then the sentiment for local tax in Lenoir County must be examined as well as the schools that were developed; and finally the case in the Supreme Court interpreting the law must be consulted. Thus the study of local school history leads into the general educational history of the State.

As previously stated, political history is to a large degree determined by economic and social factors. Indeed these have been issues in local more frequently than in general State history, for in State politics national affairs often have an undue prominence. The real genius of the people is seen best of all in local or county affairs. An intensive study of politics, industry, and economic conditions in a dozen North Carolina counties since 1876 would explain many State-wide issues. Equally effective would be such a survey of county affairs in the Piedmont section prior to 1860. So far as I know the only study of any period of State history by the county method is now being conducted at the University of Mississippi. There the advanced students in history are writing the story of reconstruction of counties, although a good general history of reconstruction in Mississippi was published a decade ago.[1]

All of the neglected life of the past can not be recalled through local records. The results of investigation by localities must be synthesized and information supplementary to it must be culled from other than county sources. Here lies the opportunity of a central organization or authority basing its work on matters of State-wide interest. For instance, a bibliography of the material in the State archives relating to county history, also one of pamphlets and printed sources, would prove of inestimable value. This work could hardly be undertaken by a local, but it might be by a general organization. Also studies in some of the larger social movements which have touched the life of the people should be undertaken, such as the construction of turnpikes and highways, temperance and prohibition, and the rise of an educational sentiment. A study of such topics of general importance as public finances, the

[1]See publications of the Mississippi Historical Society, Vols. XI and XII, for studies in Mississippi counties during Reconstruction.

history of party machinery and organization, the development of the judicial system, and local government would greatly aid in the local investigation, and local research in turn would illuminate these general questions. As a contribution to political history maps showing the votes by counties and districts in State and Federal elections might prove of value to the politician as well as those interested in local history. Charts might also be made showing the growth of educational facilities, county by county and decade by decade, the growth of certain industries and their antecedents, or the types of plantations. The possible value of such surveys of the State, supplemented by studies of local conditions, can hardly be estimated; the educator might find in them some definite knowledge of the attitude toward intellectual improvement in the community in which he works, the capitalist of the antecedents of his employees, the politician a sense of the solidarity or uncertainty of the electorate, and those interested in history a storehouse of helpful data.

Is such an intensive study of North Carolina history possible? The answer is found in the experience and example of other States. In this matter as in shaping political issues the Northwest holds the leadership. In Wisconsin, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa there are a number of county and local historical societies, and in the library of the Wisconsin State Historical Society there is a card index of material relating to county history. That organization, also the Iowa Historical Society, provides for affiliation with local historical societies.

More important than this superiority in organization is the new interest in social and economic factors which has characterized the study of local history in the Northwestern States. This has been fostered by general historical organizations. In two States marked progress has been made. In Iowa the *Annals of Iowa,* an historical magazine of the conventional type, has been supplemented by the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* devoted largely to economic and social movements in the history of the State. The State Historical Society of Iowa, through appropriations for research, has done much towards putting the writing of Iowa history on a new plane. During the past summer eight mature students were engaged at Iowa City investigating as many topics in the political and social history of the State.

In Illinois, the State Historical Survey was organized in 1909 to bring about coöperation between the colleges and universities and the State Historical Society. Its activities have included an examination of county archives, the collection of manuscripts, and a bibliography of travels and guide books of Illinois. In addition to this kind of activity, which has long characterized historical organizations, new possibilities

in the local field have been realized. I quote from a forthcoming report of the Survey:

"In addition to making available the books and manuscripts from which the history of Illinois must be written, the Survey is paving the way for definite studies of certain aspects of that history. In the field of politics, for example, no attempt has been made until very recently to study the subject on the basis of election returns by counties, the investigators being content with general results and a superficial study of conventions and campaigns. The Survey has obtained from the office of the Secretary of State complete returns by counties for all important elections prior to 1880. These have been tabulated in the form of percentages and on the basis of the statistics thus obtained a series of maps is being constructed illustrating by colors and gradations the distribution of the vote at the various elections. With such material before him it is possible for the student of political history to say something definite about the attitude of the electorate in different parts of the State.

"For the interpretation of political statistics of this sort a knowledge of the different elements which make up the population of the State and of their respective proportions in different sections is essential. Many generalizations on this topic have been made but the Survey is attempting by the study of the census schedules and of representative lists of inhabitants of different counties to secure accurate and reliable data. Tables are also being compiled on the basis of the State and national censuses, statistics of elections and other data, by which it is hoped to show the approximate population of each county in the State for every year. Still another way in which the spread of population across the State is to be illustrated is by a map showing the date of the first settlement of each township or precinct. Data for this is to be found principally in the county histories, but the untrustworthiness of these sources renders a large amount of verification necessary before the information can be used. Similar studies of the progressive advance of settlement will be made from the land office data of the taking up of the public domain.

"Another tool which will be of great service in editorial and research work is a biographical index which is being compiled by the Survey. This contains at present cards for about seven thousand names of men including all who have held State office from Member of Assembly up, with enough information about the man to identify him, and references to places where further information can be found. This index will probably serve in time as a starting point for the compilation for a publication of a biographical dictionary of Illinois people."

The work thus underway in the Northwest has already been the means of recalling forgotten phases of the history of that region; it will undoubtedly bring to light a vast amount of new data in the future; it will also stimulate the work of county historical societies. Who shall say how effective might be a concerted movement by local and State historical societies in the South toward a better understanding of the past, in the interest of history and of those movements for social betterment which will inevitably come in the future?

Democracy and Literature

ADDRESS BY ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, PH.D., PROFESSOR OF MATHEMATICS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, BEFORE THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, DECEMBER 4, 1912.

A great issue which we all face in the North Carolina of today is the problem of literature in a democracy. If I appeal for guidance to the life of the past, it is in recognition of the principle that we must "read the lesson of the past in order to teach the present how to shape the future." The economic life is the fundamental condition of all life. "To economic causes," says Seligman, "must be traced, in last instance, those transformations in the structure of society which themselves condition the relations of social classes and the manifestations of social life." Only in the life of the sovereign people, as reflected in our history, are to be found the creative seeds from which the flower of a great literature may spring. It is that power originally lodged in the people, and once more asserted by them in the tremendous political upheaval of this hour, to which we confidently look for the rediscovery of economic liberty, of equality of opportunity, and of spiritual freedom in the nation, under the guidance of such great Southerners—Southerners by birth or by inheritance—as Woodrow Wilson, Oscar Underwood, and Thomas Marshall. It is to that same power of a risen people, awakened in the intellectual as in the political realm, that we look for the realization in our midst of a new, a golden age of literary culture.

"Art," says Tolstoy, "knows the true ideal of our times, and tends towards it." If we may but discover and body forth this "true ideal of our times," then may we look hopefully for the art which tends towards it—"art transmitting the simplest feelings of common life, but such always as are accessible to all men in the whole world—the art of common life—the art of a people—universal art." The literature of the future is the literature truly autochthonous—literary products which seem as if self-risen from some miraculous soil, nourished by the mind and the soul. Today the whole world is one vast democracy—the democracy of the spirit. "It is from the struggle of the great duty of charity and justice against our egoism and ignorance," says Maeterlinck, "that the supreme literature of this new century shall spring."

In the intellectual and cultural history of the South we are confronted with four distinctive periods, each leaving its ineffaceable impress upon the life of the nation. The first of these eras in Southern

cultural development is the era of the courtly country gentleman, profound student of politics and history, leisurely reader of the classics and the humanities. In this era the South was far more than the co-partner of the North in shaping the early history of the Union. In a memorable speech in the Senate, Charles Sumner frankly stated that for sixty years the South governed the country through its able men in Congress and the Presidency. In constructive statesmanship, continental thinking, and inspiriting nationalism, this era of Southern dominance in national affairs is without a parallel or a comparable equal in our national annals. The writings of the elder Southern statesmen, beyond all doubt, were an invaluable contribution to the literature of America. The State papers of these men, of vast intellectual scope and imaginative reach, breathing lofty ideals yet stiffened by the hardy practicality of the founders of the Republic, stand as yet unrivaled in the nation's intellectual history. They owe their chief eminence less to originality of thought than to adequate interpretation of the needs of a new nation and their universality of application to the problems of our civilization.

Coincident with, and consequent to, this magnificent first cycle in our intellectual evolution came the second era, stretching approximately from 1830 until 1861. There is no era in American history, in relation to the state of culture and the feelings of class consciousness in the South, which has been so crassly misunderstood. One can not wholly blame the romantic novelists for throwing into high focus, if false perspective, the aristocratic and oligarchic features of Southern life—the picturesque and romantic survival upon American soil of a belated feudalism. These were the beautiful and picturesque phases of Southern life, ready made to the hands of the fictive artist; and it is no wonder that people still innocently think of the War between the States as simply a struggle of Puritan and Cavalier, a clash of the ideals of the Lees of Virginia with the ideals of the Adamses of Massachusetts.

There is falsehood—and, I think, vicious falsehood—in this seductive but distorted picture. Recent economic investigations conclusively demonstrate that life in the rural South in antebellum days was democratic, and that the political leaders owed their selection not to a landed aristocracy but to the great masses of the people. There is need for clearer thinking and a truer perspective upon this sociological phase of our development. A State which gave two men to the Presidency prior to 1860, one born in a log cabin, the other in a log house, and at the close of the war a third, born in an attic in this town, can not with any semblance of reason preen itself upon the grasping leadership of a landed aristocracy. The aristocracy of leadership in the South was an aristocracy not of birth but of merit; not of blood, but of sheer, efficient

achievement. The truly typical home of the South was not a Monticello or an Arlington, but a simple four room house, the home of a homogeneous and pure blooded people, breeding the democratic ideals of a Macon and a Vance.

The leaders came from all classes of the people, high and low, rich and poor alike. But the vital deficiency in the situation, it must be clearly indicated, was that whilst all classes furnished leaders the aristocratic, semi-oligarchic class, of lordly leisure and patriarchal dignity, reveled in a monopoly of culture, the great middle class, the structural and preponderant element of the population, remaining submerged in a twilight of sectionalism, provinciality, and obscured vision.

History confirms the familiar theory that epoch-making movements in industrial prosperity are contemporaneous with a quickening of the national life and a vitalization of the intellectual resources. We should expect in the antebellum South an era of fertility in inventiveness and power in imaginative creativeness during the great industrial era subsequent to 1830. New England responded nobly to the economic quickening of the national life with the classic and permanent monuments of American literature, the works of Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, Hawthorne, Emerson, and Holmes. What explanation shall we give of the dearth of literary productivity in the South during the same period?

In the South a local exigency of supreme significance effectually diverted the genius of our people from the library to the rostrum, from the study to the forum. Within the body politic was encysted, like extraneous metal in irritated flesh, the vexing problem of the negro and his destiny. The need of the hour, the subconscious pressure for a vindication of her position on constitutional grounds, summoned the South's great orators and supreme debaters. In this era of secret introspection yet passionate public defense, literature was thrust into the background by the clamorous dominance of orator and statesman. The spoken word came to exercise a relentless tyranny over the written word—a tyranny, let me forcibly remind you, which perseveres in the South to this very day. The superhuman effort to safeguard the rights and interests of the people left little time for the intensive study so indispensable for the production and publication of a body of great literature.

The error of historians in affirming that literary culture found no lodgment in the antebellum South is one of the grave errors which only the documentary facts of the era will effectually combat. I have more than once taken occasion to point out the obstacles which militated then—and which in considerable measure militate today—against wide-

spread preoccupation with literature and the obligations of creative scholarship. The people, an agricultural class, were widely scattered. There were no great cosmopolitan cities to serve as centers of literary activity and forges of creative workmanship. In the South there were no great publishing houses which by their very existence furnish a perpetual incentive to productivity and publication. The political exigency of the hour, the ambition of the Southerner to maintain that political eminence which he had already so effectually established, monopolized the supply of dynamic literary force. If the Southerner, conservative to the backbone, neglected the native authors, it was because of his absorption in the reading of the great classics of English and Continental literature. In his recent book, "The House of Harper," Mr. J. Henry Harper tells of the vast quantity of books, especially important publications of standard literary works, sold by his firm to Southern book buyers in the antebellum period. Another New York publisher acknowledges that his costliest invoices of European literature went "to the old mansions on the banks of the James and the Savannah and the bluffs of the Mississippi." In the recently published account of the publishing firm of the Putnams, established by his father, Dr. George Haven Putnam tells of the great shipments of standard literary works to the South, notably to New Orleans, before the war—greater then, says he most significantly, *than they have ever been since.* "Nothing could be more remarkable," says Joseph LeConte in his Autobiography, "than the wide reading, the deep reflection, the refined culture, and the originality of thought and observation of the Southern planters; and yet the idea of publication never entered their heads."

Following the War between the States, that tragic crisis when the South in the dimness of anguish beheld the loss of wealth, the abolition of prosperity, the violation of the very sanctities of her civilization, this people sternly set themselves to the task of repairing those fallen fortunes and restoring that fair civilization upon broader and more universal outlines. The history of that titanic economic struggle is so integral a part of the life of those in my hearing that I shall dispense with its resumption. From the side of cultural value, it is sufficient to point out two clearly marked phases in the resurgence of the postbellum South.

First, the South has devoted her utmost energies to the rebuilding of a civilization economically laid waste by the ravages of civil war. This she has triumphantly begun; and today the new South moves without restraint and with propulsive impetus along the path of normal industrial and economic progress. The primal and distinctive characteristic of this prosperity is its universal diffusion—the emergence of the aver-

age man from the pressure of economic necessity and the blight of arrested cultural development. The way has been cleared, economically, for the future *rapprochement* of culture and commercialism. The most brilliant social study ever written by a North Carolinian, under the title "Culture and Commercialism," outlining a rational basis for the reconciliation of these two great forces in the future evolution of our commonwealth, is the work of that clear thinker and polished speaker, Edward K. Graham.

Following, if virtually coincident with, the economic restoration of the fallen South, the disestablishment of an individualistic democracy and a pervasively agricultural industry by a communistic democracy and a fully diversified industrial life, has proceeded the tremendous educational crusade of our period. The keynote of that splendid crusade may be found in the words of Pasteur, noblest exemplar of modern civilization: "Democracy is that order in the State which permits each individual to put forth his utmost effort." The Southern people have accepted with an almost fatalistic optimism the doctrine of Socrates that knowledge will lead to right and useful action and conduct. Here in our midst was a vast, untrained democratic mass of people, destined for leadership, but educationally untrained to meet its obligations. Unhesitatingly the South recognized the "common man as the truest asset of democracy," and determined to educate that precious common man to the tasks of leadership in all the avenues of an advancing civilization. The educational leaders of the South of today recognize in universal education the supreme potential force in the moulding of national character, the indispensable prerequisite to the intellectual, literary, and cultural awakening of the future.

"Great is the good fortune of a State," says Aristotle, "in which the citizens have a moderate and sufficient prosperity." Fortunate then is this old Commonwealth of North Carolina, poor in millionaires, but rarely rich in the diffusion of a "moderate and sufficient prosperity." It is matter of experience, Aristotle has elsewhere observed, that happiness is "more often found with those who are most highly cultivated in their mind and in their character and have only a moderate share of external goods, than among those who possess external goods to a useless extent but are deficient in higher qualities." If Aristotle be right in his lesson, drawn from human experience, North Carolina possesses in preëminent degree one of the indispensable prerequisites to happiness—a moderate prosperity. Does she still await the acquisition of that equally valuable asset, the highest intellectual culture?

"Art," says the great Spanish novelist, Palacio-Valdes, "is a necessary outcome of a certain degree of prosperity attained by countries when

man, having overcome the obstacles which were opposed to his subsistence, recovered from his fatigue and enjoyed life quietly." We in the South have overcome the obstacles opposed to material subsistence; we have established the régime of a perfect democracy; have formulated and are striving to realize the millennial dream of universal education. We have passed strenuously into the iron age of economic prosperity, idealistically into the silver age of educational optimism. We stand today at the portals of the golden age of culture. In our time we have seen the ideals of our civilization shift from symbol to symbol. The symbols of the first era were the bench, the bar, and the manor; of the antebellum era, the rostrum and the forum; of the recent era, the schoolhouse and the academy, the college and the university. Is the time far distant when the symbols of our civilization shall become the shrines of culture, of literature, and of art?

Certain modern thinkers have advanced the doctrine that democracy is not the ideal atmosphere for the development of art and the ripening of the fruits of culture. De Tocqueville expressed the opinion that the very structure of a democratic society is unsuited to meditation and inimical to it. In the words of Frederic Harrison, "vast numbers and the passion for equality tend to low averages in thought, in manners, and in public opinion, which the zeal of the devoted minority tends gradually to raise to higher planes of thought and conduct." These pessimistic observations come to us from England and Europe, the centers of culture of world-civilization. But it should be pointed out, in defense of democracy, that these strictures apply almost exclusively to the pioneer phases of democracy. "Then the struggle and pressure for power and for gain, the unending tumult which accompanies the task of economic and political organization, and the practical interpretation of underlying formulas and principles, as well as the novelty of the conditions of life, all unite to compel the attention outward, and to make reflection an impossible luxury." The simple faith in the doctrine of equality tends to foster the delusion that any man is fit for any task, and breeds a certain contempt for special knowledge, refined culture, and expert literary skill. "But after a democratic state of society has established itself, and traditions have become fixed," says Nicholas Murray Butler, "there seems no reason to believe that reflection and meditation will not take and hold the commanding place among civilized men." Intellectual vigor and dominance tread hard upon the heels of wealth and commercial supremacy.

As I study this democracy of ours through the variegated vicissitudes of its evolution, I see in it two supreme streams of tendency which give rich promise for a great literary and cultural awakening. Contrary to

the current conventionalism that the primal instinct of the American is love of money, I am convinced that our legacy from a century of pioneers is a passion for successful self-expression, for efficiency, and for creative conquest.

Again, contrary to convention, I am convinced that the American race is not merely a race of getters and spenders, but the most imaginative of all races, on a grandiose and colossal scale. That imagination which inspired Sir Walter Raleigh to dispatch expedition after expedition to fabled Roanoke symbolized the soaring imagination of the sturdy Elizabethans of the spacious days of Marlowe, Milton, Spenser, and Shakespeare. In two centuries and a half the sons of these stalwart Englishmen have lost none of their ancient power to dream dreams, to see visions, and to give firm base to their castles in the air.

It was creative imagination which spurred Richard Henderson, Daniel Boone, and George Rogers Clark across the Alleghany Mountains in their arduous labors to win the imperial domain of Kentucky and to secure the Great Northwest to the American nation. It was prophetic imagination which inspired the men of Mecklenburg to speak for American liberty in May, 1775. It was martial imagination which drove the South to fight for constitutional freedom in the supreme crisis of the Republic. It was cosmic imagination which inspired the American engineers in the epic construction of the Panama Canal. It was inventive imagination which inspired Edison to incandescent world-illumination, which enabled the Wright brothers to achieve the conquest of a new realm—the domain of the air. It was the pioneering imagination which sent Peary upon that frozen, trackless journey which ended in the pole. Let but that same colossal and grandiose imagination be dedicated to the service of literature and we shall have upon American soil the supreme imaginative artists of the world.

Fortunate indeed is North Carolina in the possession of the stuff out of which true literature is created, ready to the creative hand of the imaginative artist.

Our history is charged with picturesque beauty and redolent of romantic charm. What themes for the great imaginative artist lie dormant in the story of the birth, baptism, and mystic disappearance of the White Fawn of Roanoke; the romantic fable of the Lost Colony; the arduous voyages to Pamlico of Raleigh's ardent adventurers; the tragic wanderings of De Graffenried and the Swiss Palatines, the social migrations of Huguenots, Moravians, and Scotch Covenanters! What great social dramas lie inchoate in the tragic epic of Reconstruction, the vast *Comédie Humaine* stretching from 1860 until this hour!

Responsive to the art of the biographer are the lives of our leaders—William Richardson Davie, one of the greatest men in an age of great men; the true Leatherstocking, Daniel Boone, whose definitive biography yet remains unwritten; the jurist-pioneer, Richard Henderson, described by one of his contemporaries as "one of the most eccentric geniuses in America, and perhaps in the world"; James Johnston Pettigrew, the most versatile and brilliant figure in our annals; that great tribune of the people, Zebulon Baird Vance; and many other classic exemplars of our native genius.

Before the critic of literature, as well, lies the unaccomplished task of making manifest the contributions of our native authors to imaginative literature. If literature has hitherto held an inferior place in our life, it is in no small measure due to the lack of that "acute and mature criticism" which Henry James posits as the prime requisite for the full appreciation of literature. We await the critical work of highly trained craftsmen to reveal to us these buried treasures, to appreciate their significance and to appraise their worth.

As I look about me and observe the signs of intellectual awakening, the forces setting irresistibly toward the creation of a real literature in our midst, I feel the thrill and the hope of splendid future accomplishment. Societies of every sort are devoting their best energies to restoring the traditions and glories of our native history to public recognition and prestige. The North Carolina Historical Commission, dedicated primarily to all causes in the interest of our history, both local and national, is properly achieving its initial function in collecting and rendering accessible to historical students the crude material out of which history is made.

While numerous forces are thus at work, laying the foundations of a rational pride in our State, what do we find in the domain of letters? Has literature gone hand in hand with history in the intellectual awakening of the hour? Historical investigation, monument building, the marking of historic sites, the writing of historical works, all minister to the glory of history. May I beg, however, here in the capital of this commonwealth, to advance the strange and novel idea that literature is an indispensable part of history The literature of North Carolina is an unforgettable part of the history of North Carolina. Literature not only *is* history—it *makes* history. Literature is national and international autobiography, since it is "the presentation of civilization in its best products, its most significant moments" sublimated and illuminated with the highest literary brilliancy. If history is in some sense the biography of great men and great women, in a far deeper sense literature is the autobiography of a nation's life, ideals and destiny.

In history, it is abundantly clear that we are now sectionally self-conscious, and fast becoming nationally self-conscious in the highest and best sense of the term. But it is a fact, as lamentable as it is actual, that little attempt has been made, thus far, to foster or develop the spirit of literature in our midst. This year, thanks to our crescent literary spirit, we make a notable beginning in the presence of our two distinguished guests, Edwin Markham and Walter Page. Until now, barring the fortuitous annual conferring of an honor to literary achievement, conceived by a patriotic woman, this society, which bears so proudly the word *literary* as the co-equal with historical in its title, has paid all its court, not to literature, but to history. I were recreant to all my instincts did I not here lay a lance in rest in behalf of literature. I would sound the clarion call of a living poet—

> **Come! Let us lay a crazy lance in rest,**
> **And tilt at windmills under the wild sky!**
> **For who would live so petty and unblest**
> **That dare not tilt at something ere he die,**
> **Rather than, screened by safe majority,**
> **Preserve his little life to little ends,**
> **And never raise a rebel battlecry!**

I never think of the literature of my native State that I do not recall the classic lines of that famous bard of our sister Carolina, J. Gordon Coogler:

> **Alas for the South! Her books have grown fewer;**
> **She never was much given to literature.**

Blink it as we may, it must be frankly acknowledged that, in cultural accomplishment and literary supremacy, the North Carolina of the past does not fill in the history of American literature anything like the relative space which she covers, geographically, upon the American continent. Few of our native writers have succeeded in waking a responsive chord in the national consciousness, or reached out to the larger recompenses of international renown. Upon one occasion William Gaston, in reply to some defamer, proudly declared that North Carolina was a plain and a slow State, and that he hoped it would be long before she exchanged that reputation for a more equivocal characterization. Gaston here struck the keynote of this old commonwealth—its rugged virtues of democracy and a wise conservatism, its dread of novelty, its scorn of the pretentious, its ineradicable passion for sincerity, so laconically embodied in the State motto, *esse quam videri*. Whilst North Carolina revels in all the homely virtues of a rugged democracy, yet her past literary history, with its record for honorable achievement and sound ability, has been in no sense commensurate with her political and

martial history, which has been national in its significance, continental in its scope.

My high hope for the future of our literary and cultural development finds its firm justification in the striking figures and potent forces which have been at work in our midst during the last decade. Any State in the Union, I affirm, might well be proud of an honor roll which numbers such names, in history and biography, as Hannis Taylor, Battle, Ashe, Alderman, Bassett, Haywood, Cheshire, Raper, Hamilton, Nash, Boyd, Connor, and Poe; nor can I omit mention of the Biographical History of North Carolina, the writings of Dr. Weeks, and his collection of North Caroliniana, which confers distinction upon the State in which it is found, and the Hall of History, fostered by Colonel Olds, whose enlightened unselfishness deserves official recognition at the hands of the State.

In literature as distinguished from history, for the recent past and the present, there is a roll of honor full of distinction and of genuine promise for a greater future—including such names as O. Henry, McNeill, Boner, Christian Reid, Avery, Stockard, Sledd, Alphonso Smith, Mims, Horne, Walter Page, Margaret Busbee Shipp, and Thomas Dixon. Nor should one forget to mention the invaluable *Library of Southern Literature,* the source book for the future study of Southern literary genius; and the *South in the Building of the Nation,* careful *précis* of the multifarious activities of one of the grand divisions of the Republic. Remembering the words of De Tocqueville, who attributed the "singular prosperity and growing strength of the American people" to the superiority of their women, I think of the numerous Woman's Clubs of the State, devoted in part—though not always, I fear, with directed intensiveness—to the study of literature. I think of that admirable publication, national in importance, which has recently celebrated its first decennial of invaluable service as agent of culture, the *South Atlantic Quarterly;* and of a local publication, already of far more than local repute, which has performed with conspicuous ability the indispensable service of acquainting the people of this and other States with the literary activities of our people, the *North Carolina Review.*

In the face of such an efflorescence of literary talent and genius, I can no longer share in the mournful threnody of Coogler. I can, however, make quite luminous the fact that this fine mass of literary accomplishment owes singularly little to incentive furnished by the State itself. It is true that we can legislate history into existence—we *have* done it here in North Carolina. We can not legislate literature into existence. It must flower up out of a *rootage* of hidden beauty, and from a soil of native appreciation and spontaneous praise. I think that if our

people realized the value of literature, its tremendous power to promote culture, to widen horizons, to advance civilization, we should be all the more ready to give it our immediate and efficient aid. Ibsen and Björnson projected little Norway into the focus of international renown; Sweden was well-nigh forgotten by the world until the advent of Strindberg. Illustrations multiply spontaneously. The novelist is the maker of history in the double sense—that he projects authentic pictures of life already lived, and directs the course of events in accordance with the ideals which he embodies. The poet is the Interpreter and the Seer, whose wingèd words inspire the soul and become the mainspring of action. We are truly fortunate to have with us this year the man who has done more than any other since Walt Whitman to realize in song the vast democratic ideals and visions of America—Edwin Markham.

To literature, then, let us turn our attention in the next great era of cultural development in our commonwealth. It is fitting that we should celebrate the historical traditions of our State in monuments of marble and of bronze. It is significant of the larger vision of our educational era that two great memorials have been or will be erected to the educational statesmen of our time, the true patriot, Charles McIver, and the high-keyed, idealistic statesman, Charles Aycock. It is noteworthy, however, that thus far our men and women of letters await in vain the recognition of the universities and the colleges, the appreciative attention of the scholar, the enthusiastic approval of the public. Where there is no vision the people perish. If the day is ever to come when the author, the literator, is to share with minister, statesman, educator, warrior, and industrial leader, the reward of merit, the meed of praise, the honor of recognition, and the statue of renown, it must be because we have joined together with enthusiasm and the true spirit of service, to inaugurate the next step demanded in our rapidly evolving civilization—a Crusade for Culture.

In our preoccupation with the literature of our State and of the South, let us not forget the blighting dangers of arrogant sectionalism. The literature of a homogeneous people, the purest section of the Anglo-Saxon race still surviving upon the globe, will inevitably reflect the ideals, the passions, and the life of that people. It is a far cry from sectionalism, with its devastating self-sufficiency, to the healthy virtues of a sane provincialism. But in this era in world civilization I would beg to remind you that the master word which strikes the pitch of the art of the future is Internationalism. If our literature is to represent the best that is thought and felt in the world today it must be surcharged with a sense of human solidarity. Marcus Aurelius said: "The intelligence of the universe is social." We profoundly need that cul-

tural and spiritual illumination which has come in Europe from a Carlyle, an Ibsen and a Meredith, a Taine, a Brandès and a Brunetière.

We shall not acquire a literature truly *autochthonous* in character until we realize the supreme criterion of literature as set forth by Paul Bourget: that there is in every work of art something more than an esthetic effort, that each creation is almost unconsciously a manifestation of all the elements which go to make up the national character, the specific moment of history, the definite climatic condition. We shall not acquire a literature truly *international* in character until we realize the ideal of art as defined by Stendhal, "the analysis of human passions and the artistic expression of those passions." The ideal Southern writer, says that great Southern genius, Joel Chandler Harris, "must be Southern and yet cosmopolitan, he must be intensely local in feeling but utterly unprejudiced and unpartisan as to opinions, tradition and sentiment. Whenever we have a genuine Southern literature it will be American and cosmopolitan as well. Only let it be a work of genius, and it will take all sections by storm."

Let us then dedicate ourselves to the supreme task that lies before us—the realization, through individual effort, communion of spirit and intellectual sympathy, of the republic of letters in the commonwealth of democracy.

County Records as Sources of Local History

PAPER READ BY FRANK NASH BEFORE THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, DECEMBER 4, 1912.

In the whole range of literature there is nothing more sublime than the incomparable vision of Ezekiel—the valley of the dry bones. "And he set me down in the midst of the valley which was full of bones, and caused me to pass by them, round about; and, behold, there were very many in the open valley; and, lo, they were very dry. * * * So I prophesied as I was commanded; and as I prophesied, there was a noise, and behold a shaking, and the bones came together, bone to his bone. And when I beheld, lo, the sinews and flesh came upon them, and the skin covered them above; but there was no breath in them. Then said He unto me, Prophesy unto the wind, prophesy, son of man, and say to the wind, Thus saith the Lord God: Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain that they may live. So I prophesied as He commanded me, and the breath came into them, and they lived, and stood upon their feet, an exceeding great army."

A few broad strokes, a few deft touches, here and there, by the divinely inspired poet and prophet, and do we not see the rapidly changing panorama, as it passes before us? First, the valley of desolation, strewed with sun-dried and sun-whitened bones, the hills about it barren and rock bound—no living thing there; then, the blooming flowers, the singing birds, the spring verdure and the exceeding great army.

Though the work of the historian as he deals with county records is very small compared with this divine revivification, yet it is the same in kind. They, these records, are, after all, but valleys of very dry bones, and it is the breathing of the historian's enlightened but restrained imagination upon them that clothes them with sinews and flesh and life. They touch the life and activities of the inhabitants of the country at nearly every point. If one should be an infant, owning property, they show the appointment of a guardian, the nature of his property and how it is managed. When he comes of age, they show this by the return of his guardian and by his assessment for poll tax. The tax lists, after the Revolution, as well as the deed and mortgage books, show whether he is managing his property well, or is a spendthrift. If we wish to know whether he was a slaveholder, the tax lists will show that, and also the number of these slaves between twelve and fifty years of age. If we should wish to know his trade or profession, sometimes the deed books will show that, from his designation as weaver, hatter, smith,

merchant, farmer, doctor, lawyer, planter, or gentleman. If he was an office holder the court records will show that,—overseer of the roads, constable, deputy sheriff, sheriff, justice of the peace, clerk of the court, register of deeds, colonel, captain or lieutenant of militia, whatever he may be, they will show it. His marriage, when and to whom, will be found among the marriage bonds, his crimes on the State dockets and his lawsuits on the civil dockets. The time of his death will be known from the appointment of his administrator, or the probate of his will, and quite frequently the number and names of his children, as well as the amount and character of the property he leaves to them.

Of course this assumes that all the records have been preserved. Unfortunately what from fire, loss, moths or other destructive agencies, there are very few of the older counties which have perfect records. Yet these very blanks stimulate historical investigation, for they should be accounted for in some way. Using Orange County as an illustration of the difficulties here, we have no county court records for the period extending from 1766 to 1777, eleven very active years in the political and economic development of the county. Now McKerall, Register of the county, swore in 1835 (see *Jackson v. Commissioners,* 1 Dev. and Bat. Law, 177), that the records of the county were buried at the coming of Lord Cornwallis in February, 1781, and when they were afterwards recovered many of them were obliterated, and that nothing, to that time, had happened since to cause the destruction of any of these records; yet all the books of administrators' accounts from 1786 to 1800 have been lost. When we ascertain that previous to 1846 no records were kept in the courthouse but remained in the office of each particular officeholder, that loss is also accounted for.

But the view that I have been taking of these records appeals more to the genealogist and biographer than to the historian, and there is a larger view. What part of the county was first settled, and why? What was the character of the settlers, their religion, their educational advantages and their political outlook? What part of the county, after its first settlement, most attracted immigration, and why? Why was the county seat located where it was, and who was principally interested in securing that location? What was the character of the county court, and of its officers, and why and how were those officers appointed? If there were different races among the settlers, what was the contribution of each to the development of the county? What was the daily life of the people, what their sports, what their amusements? What interest did they take in public affairs and how did they manifest it? What crimes were most prevalent among them, and why? Were they litigious or peaceably inclined? From what race came the greatest number of

criminals, and why? *et cetera.* All these questions and many more can be answered by vitalizing the dry bones of county records with a glowing but intelligent imagination, that which is able to reconstruct and realize the past and its actors, and make them live again on the pages of history.

Again, it may be that hid away in these records is some fact, or some evidence of the existence of a fact, which will throw a clear light upon an obscure or controverted point in our history. For instance, take Miss Fries' translation of the Moravian Records and their allusion to the Mecklenburg Declaration, as an illustration, though they are not strictly county records; or, the extract from the Minutes of the Cane Creek Quaker Meeting in the office of the Register of Deeds at Graham, which shows that the Regulators were, in early 1776, identified with the Loyalists in the province; or, the Superior Court records in Orange County during the Regulator trouble, as the "event speaking through its actors," and many other instances too numerous to mention.

Again these records are an invaluable aid to the biographer. There was scarcely a prominent man in the Province or the State who did not figure largely upon them. If he was a lawyer, and most of them were, we can, from them, form some estimate of the extent of his practice and of his weight and influence in the community. If he was a planter we can ascertain how much land he owned and how many slaves. If he was a merchant, the dockets will supply some indication whether he had a good credit and if he was, himself, a harsh collector from his own debtors. If he was a court officer, for instance clerk, his personality is apparent, in a certain sense, in all of his records, etc.

Quite frequently, too, traits of character appear in unexpected places, traits that sometimes cause a modification, if not an alteration, in one's previous estimate of the man.

Again, they are valuable as verifying or disproving tradition. Every student of history knows that, quite often, tradition is but thousand tongued rumor transferred from the past to the present, and, as rumor deals almost wholly with the bizarre, the unusual, the exciting, tradition carries with it much of the scandal and evil speaking of the past. The evil that men are thought to do lives after them, as well as that they do. Remembering this the historian has a difficult problem in determining how much of tradition is false and how much is true. If he has an adequate knowledge of human nature and of the springs of human action, a thorough examination of these county records will often direct him to a correct conclusion. Let me give two illustrations of this. In the first the record refutes the tradition; in the other it sustains it. Tradition charges Edmund Fanning with having become rich from ille-

gal fees extorted from the people while he held a public office. The record shows that he, while he lived in North Carolina, held but one county office—Register of Deeds for Orange County,—and he held that for five years and six months, not doing the work of the office himself but having a deputy who was compensated from the income of the office. We have a record of every deed, or paper of like kind, probated during that period, and assuming that all the deeds probated were registered, which is not a fact, and allowing six shillings for each deed, the charge that was made, the total gross income of the office for five years and six months was a little less than three hundred and eighty-five pounds sterling, and from this his deputy, James Watson, must be paid. So, allowing everything to the purchasing power of money at that day compared with what it is now, it is proven that the tradition is false.

There are many traditions about Colonel William Shepperd, but I will deal with one only. He is said to have been small and thin, but active and wiry as a cat. He was also blind of one eye, and, when occasion demanded it, would fight anything or anybody with zest and eagerness,—generally with entire success. One of his fights was with Jesse Benton, the father of Thomas Hart, in which, it is said, he beat Benton, though he was a much larger man, very severely. Now turning to the records, we find that the two men were, about that time, indicted for an affray, and both were convicted. Benton then brought an action against Shepperd for the assault, and recovered fifty pounds, which he (Benton) afterwards donated to the Hillsboro Academy. Shepperd also took a hand in the further proceedings, had Benton indicted for perjury and sued him for slander, and lost in both instances. So here the tradition is true.

Finally, there is a still broader view to take of these old county records. The counties are, after all, but parts of the State and separated from each other by only imaginary lines. He who is to write the history of the people of North Carolina must be familiar with them if his story is to be true and full. These people, as individuals, in some form or other make their marks, for good or for evil, upon these records, marks which are sometimes pregnant with meaning to the intelligent investigator. Hints there are, here and there, to the skilful interpreter, of their manner of life, of their habit of thought and of their social, economic and political development: and he who is not content to deal only with the surface of things but wishes to get at their heart can not disregard them without being false to his own high calling—as interpreter of the people to the people.

County Records as Sources of Local History

PAPER READ BY CHARLES L. COON, BEFORE THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, DECEMBER 4, 1912.

Mr. Nash's interesting paper shows without doubt that our county records are rich in matter directly valuable to those who are interested in purely local history. But I am interested in these records for larger reasons than those which merely concern the purely local. To me the records of Lincoln, Mecklenburg, Rowan and neighboring counties have been the principal source of the information I possess relating to the educational, industrial, religious, social, and political life of the people of the middle section of the State, especially the German people and their contribution to our North Carolina life. In the county records of that section I find lists of books which individual men and women had in their possession at the time of their death, lists of their household furniture, lists of the articles sold in the stores, articles of agreement entered into between teachers and parents, bills for tuition which indicate the subjects taught in the schools, references to the games and sports of the people, receipted bills showing the payment of the preacher's salary, invaluable data relating to slavery, receipted bills showing the amounts contributed by individuals toward the erection of churches and schoolhouses, data relating to local customs such as having liquor and cakes at funerals, data showing the fees charged by the German preachers for baptisms and funerals, data relating to the manufacturing enterprises carried on in the pioneer days, and data showing the treatment accorded the helpless and delinquent members of the community.

I have often wished I had time to collect all such information now sleeping in our county archives and arrange it for students of our State history. What an interesting story of the evolution of our institutions could be constructed out of such valuable dormant material!

I want to suggest that this society, together with the North Carolina Historical Commission, undertake the work of compiling and publishing the vital parts of the county archives of at least a number of typical counties. I believe that a number of local historians can be found in such counties as Mecklenburg, Lincoln, Rowan and other counties to aid this Society and the Commission. I have in mind the valuable work of Mr. Alfred Nixon, of Lincoln. He has already made much research in the archives of his county, such work as I have in mind. I am certain there are other men and women in other counties who would undertake such a patriotic task. I am also confident that local history societies

could be formed to aid in carrying on such a plan of work. I do not propose that these persons and societies write history; I propose that they collect historical material.

I also suggest that the high school history teachers and pupils be put to work to aid in carrying out this suggestion. I am sure it would be interesting and profitable for the scholars and the teachers to collect documents, copy and arrange records, form collections of historical material, in coöperation with this Society and the Commission. All the schools need is intelligent direction, which I feel sure can be supplied by the proper officers of this body and the Historical Commission. And thus in these present times we shall provide the basis on which some unborn Green or McMaster will be able in the years to come to construct for us the real story of the State.

Nathaniel Macon

AN ADDRESS BY JOSEPHUS DANIELS BEFORE THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, DECEMBER 4, 1912.

Short and simple are the annals of the people's real representatives. Plain—so plain that he who runs may read—is the story of the life of a patriot of the Cincinnatus type, who goes from his plow to save or serve his country, and, when the service is rendered, returns to his toil in the field, without feeling that tilling the soil is less worthy than commanding "listening Senates" or leading cohorts into battle. Your truly great man has a single barrel mind, travels a straight line, reaches proper conclusions, does the work whereunto he is appointed, and seeks no fame through the performance of the duty that is so clear to him that he feels its compulsion, just as surely as the man called to preach has always ringing in his ears the inward monitor, "Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel." Every man's work is born when he comes into the world, and the man whose eyes are open to see his special service—to catch the heavenly vision, so to speak, and is not disobedient thereto—is the man who lives after his body returns to mother earth.

The country has heard much in recent years of the simple life, and not long ago a distinguished Frenchman came to America to study our ways and to commend to us the life that is marked by simplicity. At that time our ears were being so dinned by calls to the strenuous life that few gave heed to the call from the complex to the natural life. "I never had but one thing against Roosevelt," said a distinguished New York journalist to me a few weeks ago, "and that was because he came to New York to urge men to follow the strenuous life when the trouble with Americans is that they are weakening their powers and shortening their lives by trying to do too much in a few hours and a few years." We need an apostle of the simple, not the strenuous life.

I wish to call you back from the strenuous life and the complex problems of a complicated civilization to view a picture of a truly great man whose simple life was so natural and so well ordered that he never thought it exceptional. No man ever yet led the simple life who preached it or prated about it. No more does the brook proclaim "Listen to my song" hurrying to the sea as it "goes on forever," than does the man leading the simple life come to you and say: "Watch me lead the simple life." The Charles Wagner agitation for this needed return to nature was attempted to be propagated amid the orchids and hothouse plants and fruits in a crowded city. It must spring up spontaneously

in an environ of budding trees, singing birds, growing crops—the air redolent with the perfume of the dogwood, the jessamine, or the rhododendron. It is not exotic.

This age conspires against the truly simple and natural life, and to find it in its perfection and proper setting, we must go to the early days of our Republic when men had time to think clearly and to act in accordance with their reflections. I ask you to contemplate the stately simplicity of the most influential man ever born on the soil of North Carolina, "the last of the Romans," as Thomas Jefferson called Nathaniel Macon. I pronounce it Macon—for that is proper if we judge by the spelling, but for generations, though the spelling of the name was Macon, it was called "Meekins" by his neighbors and friends. Whenever in his home State Mr. Macon was addressed as Macon, he would reply "Meekins, if you please." His daughters, as they grew to womanhood, did not relish being called "Meekins" when their name spelled Macon, but the inflexible old man always insisted upon it that, inasmuch as his father and grandfather had been called "Meekins" by their neighbors, he must answer to that pronunciation. Hoping to change her father, one of his daughters addressed him at the breakfast table one morning thus: "Mr. Meekins, will you have some beekins?" proffering him some bacon from a Buck Spring larder and asked: "Father, if M-a-c-o-n spells Meekins, doesn't b-a-c-o-n spell beekins?"

Two theories illustrate perhaps more than any words of mine, Mr. Macon's belief and devotion to the rural and simple life. The first one was, he did not believe any man ought to have a neighbor near enough to his home for him to hear his dog bark. Land was plentiful in those days and the old English idea was dominant in his thought. The ideal of a man's home was his castle, and, if he could not have his castle turreted and surrounded by moats, he might in this new country have quietness and privacy, but he believed in neighborliness and thought every man ought to have a neighbor near enough so when his fire went out he might go over to his neighbor and get a chunk of fire to relight the fires of the family hearth.

He had another theory, which has more wisdom in it probably than we of this age, on first blush, may appreciate. He advised young people never to marry outside their own neighborhood or section; he held that the girl ought to marry a boy who was a son of a neighbor or friend and that a man should choose his wife likewise. There is profound philosophy in this. Marriage, to be happy, should be an equal partnership and the persons should know each other, not from a casual acquaintance but in their homes and their surroundings should not be very different. You rarely hear of a divorce or incompatibility when two young people

mate, whose parents are friends and pursue the same avocation and live in somewhat the same style. Most of the infelicities of married life can be traced to inequalities, the lack of knowledge before marriage and the inability for one to adapt himself or herself to the markedly different life of the other.

Mr. Macon had no theory he did not put into practice and he put both of these into practice, building his home at Buck Springs, where he was "monarch of all he surveyed," and when he came to marry, he did not go out of his own county for his wife. There is a very interesting story of his courtship that has been handed down from generation to generation, illustrative of his tenacity and of the spirt of the day. The belle of that section was Miss Hannah Plummer and her admirers were many, but of them all, Mr. Macon and one other whose name I do not recall, were the favorites. It seemed that one was as much esteemed by the fair damsel as the other, and, being unable to obtain from her any decision, upon the occasion when both of them were at her home, the proposition was made that the two suitors should play a game of cards and whichever one should lose the game would retire from the contest, leaving the young lady to the winner. The stake was high and Mr. Macon played and lost, but, as he arose from the table, he turned his eyes upon Hannah and said: "I have lost you fairly but I love you too much to give you up," and he did not give her up and she afterwards became his wife. His single-barrel mind worked in his devotion to his wife and her memory as in everything else, for, although she lived only a few years and he lived to be eighty-seven, he never remarried. His affection was so abiding and eternal that he never considered dividing the affection he had given her with another woman. No man ever has but one master passion—if he loves one woman he never loves but one woman with the intensity that makes their lives indissoluble. He may marry more than once—and I am not opposing second or third marriages. Often the master passion with a man or woman is the second or third marriage rather than the first, but there is only one, and the man to whom it is a reality and his very life for time and eternity, as it was with Macon, can never share it with but one woman.

If it is true that every noble institution is but the lengthened shadow of a great man, it is equally true that every notable epoch in history is the biography of its accepted leader. Only one man in North Carolina, in all its history, has been its undisputed guide and mentor for half a century. That man was Nathaniel Macon, whose wisdom, ripe judgment and freedom from ambition caused men of his generation in every section of the Commonwealth to turn to him for counsel and advice. Men who thought of a public career, whether in Bute or Lincoln coun-

ties, turned to the sage of Buck Springs and asked Macon's approval. He gave his opinion, when asked, frankly and always without any desire except to serve his party *in order that his party might truly serve his country.* In modern parlance, because his word was accepted as final in politics, he would be called a Boss, but there is not on record anywhere that he exercised the influence (which came to him without the seeking) to aid any relative or personal friend by dispensing office. In those days, particularly in Macon's early political experience, it was not easy to secure men of talent to become candidates for Congress in the Jefferson party, and Macon's leadership was rather taxed to see that his party secured acceptable candidates than to try to manipulate primaries for a favorite. The bulk of men trained for public office in that day in North Carolina were Federalists, or men who were not ready to accept unreservedly the truth that the whole people—and nobody but the people—were capable of giving just government. Macon's faith in the people, expressed in his own words, was, "I do not think there is any need to direct the people how to think. I believe the great body of them will always think right if left to themselves." Therefore Macon and other leaders of that party had to induce men to enter public service—a situation that does not now exist in any party! Then the men, following Jefferson in organizing the "Democratic Societies," were mainly farmers who were not ambitious for place, willing to accept only to insure government of and by and for the people. Because of the disinclination of the early North Carolina Republicans, so called, to take office, men of opposing political views were often chosen to office, and sometimes they gave a Federalistic bias in a State that at heart never, in any public convention, had more Federalists than were in the hopeless minority in the Hillsboro Convention that rejected the Federal Constitution. The majority in that body was the bravest and most far seeing and unambitious body of men ever assembled in a convention or legislature in North Carolina. Macon was then a boy at home, getting ready for Princeton, but his brother was there and that action profoundly influenced his life.

What gave Macon this long public career, and caused his people to call him from retirement in two crises in his last days? He was not a man of eloquence, in the ordinary acceptance of that much misunderstood word. He did not speak often and when he spoke it was usually briefly and without the use of a superfluous word. He has left us no prepared address. He never spent any time in rounding his periods. Washington, Jefferson and Franklin occupied less time on the floor in the Continental Congress than any other influential members, and yet that trio had more wisdom and more weight than all the others com-

bined. Macon was of that type of leader whose judgment is so unerring that it is accepted without argument or persuasion. His simple statements were more convincing than the eloquence of other men.

He was not an organizer. He never rounded up his followers or tried to do so. The sort of political organization that obtains today was as foreign to his nature as it was unknown in his time in rural sections. He was never dominated by a convention or primary. He was kept in public office nearly fifty years because the people believed in him, shared his political faith and knew him to be a fixed star. Though he served almost continuously in legislative bodies forty-seven years, before his retirement, he wrote: "I never solicited any man to vote for me, or hinted to him that I wished him to do so, nor did I ever solicit any person to make interest for me to be elected to any place. When elected to the United States Senate did not receive double pay for traveling." What a contrast between the excessive mileage graft of our day! He served in the Continental Army and never accepted a cent and declined the donation of public land voted to soldiers. He declined also to receive his *per diem* as member of the Constitutional Convention of 1835. Indeed, in those and other respects, he was truly, "the last of the Romans."

He was not a great scholar, did not write for the magazines, and was not a master in any learned profession; he had no business connections that gave him wealth or influence. He had no machine, no press agents and used none of the tactics of the demagogue. He had peculiarities and eccentricities that militated against the popular idea of greatness.

What then gave him undisputed leadership? Though educated far above his neighbors, his chief employment unto the day of his death was working with his slaves in his shirt sleeves in his field. He never felt abashed at Princeton in the company of the great Witherspoon who stimulated his ambition. He never felt above his unlettered neighbors or dressed so as to make his constituents feel that they were different. He exemplified in his person the most honored North Carolina virtues—economy, hospitality, industry, integrity, and interest in public affairs. Macon was North Carolina incarnate. Even the Creator, when He would bring salvation to the race, brought light through His Son who, in the flesh, let the dull people see the goodness of God. The South's cause was incarnate in Lee. Macon was the highest product of North Carolina's hopes, North Carolina's faith, North Carolina virtues and provincialisms. He was the voice, the representative, the expression of North Carolina. Graham would have fitted into the life of Pennsylvania, Badger would have shown in Boston, but you could not think of Macon in any other but a North Carolina rural environment. He was bigger than his neighbors only in vision and knowledge. He was the

incarnation of their best, as of their local traits and provincial traditions. And that is why he was the best beloved, the most honored and the first public man the State has produced. The biography of Macon, necessarily brief, is the best story of the fall of Federalism and the rise of Democracy in a State almost wholly Anglo-Saxon in population—of the coming about of the rule *of* the people that took the place of the rule *for* the people. He was the apostle of the new spirit of democracy, with a little d, that fought England, not so much because of the tea tax (for we drank "corn licker" and apple brandy instead of tea), but because of the conviction that the people had a right to govern themselves.

The big issue that, in one shape or another, agitated the country after Washington's administration, was whether the people would garner the harvests their valor had saved. Surrounded by men of learning and character, who distrusted the capacity of the people to rule, the fight of Jefferson and Macon was to resist every encroachment that jeopardized popular government. In the light of that day, Macon's hostility to certain measures and men can be justified as essential to secure government then to the people. Because some of the measures he opposed were not *per se* injurious, some historians have criticized certain of his votes, which, in another day and another setting, might not have been wise but Macon felt that Jefferson's election was essential in 1800 to prevent the Republic's lapsing into a government ruled by class. Later on, when Class and Privilege again would make government an agency of special interests, Macon's voice was raised for Jackson's election. He had but one dominating passion in all his public career: to let the people control their government. Every vote that he cast, if seen through the microscope of that master passion, is a consistent one, even if in the light of a later generation we may lack the wisdom to always see that it was influenced by the test of devotion to popular government. But apply his chemical test,—put the vote in the crucible of the hour and the period,—and you will see that, from his point of view, the measures he antagonized had in them the germ of danger to real rule by the people, whose only protection is in upholding the safeguards of the Constitution and in preventng, even in a good measure, the acceptance or approval of some act that may open the door for usurpation and centralization. Macon was so jealous of the people's rights and the reserved rights of the sovereign States that he gave every doubt to safeguarding them, preferring to go forward slowly than to jeopardizing any right that guaranteed that this government should be the people's government. He knew the insidious dangers and the pitfalls of Federalistic teaching and practice, and, if at times he seemed overcautious, it will be remembered that he knew the miners and the sappers will outwit the most patriotic leaders who fail to sleep on their arms.

Macon may be said to have received his first inspiration for public service from his brother Gideon, Willie Jones, and his teacher from Princeton, who brought him up in the creed of Jefferson. As student at Princeton he came under the influence of John Witherspoon, statesman and scholar, and, like other influential leaders in the early history of North Carolina, was licked into shape for patriotic service by the atmosphere of patriotism, as well as by the instruction, at that fountain of patriotism and learning. What a light was Princeton, under Witherspoon, and how he influenced the North Carolina folks who, denied college training at home, looked to the light in Jersey to furnish leaders in the struggle for liberty and constitutional government! History is repeating itself, and in this year of grace the country looked again and not in vain, for a vitalizing and inspiring president of Princeton to lead in restoring government to the ideals of Witherspoon and Macon. Our great man quit Princeton for a time to serve in Delaware in the American Army, and, when the war shifted to the South, closed his college course and came home to enlist in his brother's company as a private. It was while in camp on the Yadkin, in the famous retreat from South Carolina, when the news came, by a summons from the Governor to attend, that Macon learned that he had been without his knowledge elected to the Legislature. He told his comrades that he would decline the office and stay in the army. General Greene heard with surprise that a young private soldier had declined office when many were seeking places of ease and safety. Curious to see the strange specimen, Greene sent for young Macon. He was tall, straight as an Indian, and had a bearing of conscious dignity and ease in any presence. "Why is it," asked Greene, "that you have decided to stay here and suffer the privations of a private soldier instead of accepting a seat in the Legislature?" Macon, always a man of few words, made the frank answer, "As a soldier, I have seen the *faces* of the British many times, but I have never seen their *backs,* and I mean to stay here until I have a good view of their *backs.*" The army was suffering for the need of the commonest necessities and General Greene persuaded Macon that in the Legislature he might lead in securing better equipment for the soldiers, and at General Greene's request Macon went to the Legislature. He was able to give firsthand knowledge to his fellow legislators of the needs of the army, and he was unceasing in his efforts until the Legislature made provision for the pressing necessities of the patriot soldiers. He served five terms in the State Senate, beginning in 1781, and rose to the rank of leadership and made a State reputation.

The supremacy of the Federalists in the national government was converting the republic into a halfway monarchy that alarmed Jefferson,

Willie Jones, Macon and the bulk of the soldiers, who felt they were losing by legislation and usurpation of reserved powers, much of what they had won by their arms. The call came for opponents of a centralized and privileged national government to make a stand for republican principles. Macon took his seat in the Second Congress on October 28, 1791, and from that day until he resigned as Senator in 1828 he was a consistent, uncompromising, honest and able upholder of the Jefferson doctrines as opposed to everything that was Hamiltonian in theory or in practice. Nothing ever turned him a hair's breadth from his firm conviction that centralized power at Washington menaced the liberty of the people, and that legislation that aided particular individuals or sections would build up giant monopolies that would oppress the masses. We have lived to see and to taste to our sorrow the baleful fruits of the Hamiltonian tree of Centralization and Privilege. They are bitter on our tongues and they have put people's teeth on edge. Macon's prophecy that the Federalistic tree would bring forth fruits after its kind has demonstrated that he was a prophet-statesman, as well as upholder of sound doctrines. After Macon had made a strong speech against what he thought was the Toryism of centralized power, Mr. Jefferson in one of his last letters, wrote him: "I am particularly happy to perceive that you retain health and spirits still manfully to maintain our good old principles of cherishing and fortifying the rights and authorities of the people in opposition to those who fear them, who wish to take all power from them and transfer all to Washington. The latter may call themselves republicans if they please, but the school of Venice and all their principles I call tories; for consolidation is but toryism in disguise, its object being to withdraw their acts as far as possible from the ken of the people. God bless you and preserve you many and long years."

During his term in the House of Congress, Macon was three times chosen Speaker of the House and only absence due to illness caused his retirement from that office—the greatest in America except the Presidency. After his election to the Senate, such was his reputation as a wise and impartial and just presiding officer (he was at his best as moderator of any assembly) that he was chosen President of the Senate. His service as Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee at a time when that Committee was the most important in Congress showed his high standing. He three times refused to leave his seat in Congress to accept portfolios in the Cabinet, and the honor and esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries, from Jefferson to the youngest member of Congress, are conclusive proofs of his greatness and of the large part he played in national affairs of the republic—a part extending for a

longer period than enjoyed by any other North Carolinian. Graham in comprehensive grasp and executive ability was the ablest man the State has furnished in national annals after Macon, and in administrative and executive station better fitted for service in the Cabinet, but not even the immortal Vance could be reckoned as sharing with Macon the long and commanding influence which "the last of the Romans" exerted by his wisdom, consistency and devotion to the principles of representative government.

Governor Swain, who was Superior Court Judge before he became the State's chief executive, relates an incident, which more than any other contemporaneous tradition or fact, conveys to those of this generation the impression that Mr. Macon made upon strangers, and explains the esteem and admiration which he inspired. After Mr. Macon had retired to private life, litigation began in an adjoining county to Warren—an attempt was made to set aside a will. Its validity depended upon Mr. Macon's testimony. Those who wished to break the will knew that it would be necessary to break down his testimony to win their case. The theory was that by reason of his advanced years Mr. Macon's memory was impaired and therefore that his recollection was not to be accepted as accurate. The local counsel advised their clients that it would be necessary to employ the ablest lawyer in the State to cross-examine Mr. Macon if they hoped to show that his memory could not be trusted. At that time, Gavin Hogg, of Raleigh, was reported to be so gifted in cross-examinations of witnesses as to be able to show up any defect of memory or any contradiction of even the best witness. He was retained in the case and his whole employment was based on the hope that he could break the force of Mr. Macon's testimony. To that purpose he attended the court, having been paid the largest fee known then in the practice of that county. Of course, neither Mr. Macon nor any one except the lawyers and their clients knew of Mr. Hogg's appearance for that purpose.

"As I was starting over to the courthouse," said Judge Swain, telling the story to Gen. Matt W. Ransom, who told it to me, "Mr. Hogg joined me and said that he had heard that Mr. Macon was in town, that he had never met him and asked me to introduce him. I looked out and saw Mr. Macon in the courtyard, dressed in homemade clothes like those worn by his neighbors, and told Mr. Hogg to go with me and I would gladly make the introduction. We paused near the stile, and, after introducing the lawyer and the former Senator, I went on into the courthouse to open court. From my seat I could look out of the window, and soon saw that Mr. Macon and Mr. Hogg were engaged in conversation; they seemed so interested in their interview that neither one

of them seemed to move during the four hours of the session of the court and they were still engrossed in conversation as I passed them at the hotel at the dinner recess. Just after supper that night, Mr. Hogg came to me and said: 'Judge, I wish to ask a favor. Will you permit me to come to your room with my local associates and clients for a few minutes after supper? I wish to make a statement at a short conference and wish you to be present.'" "Of course," said Judge Swain, "I consented. Later Mr. Hogg, his associate attorneys and clients came into my room. I welcomed them and saw that Mr. Hogg was laboring under some unusual feeling. In a few minutes he said to his clients and associate counsel: 'Gentlemen, I asked you in here tonight and requested the Judge to be present that I might make you a statement. You know I accepted a retainer of $500 in this case, with the understanding that I was retained principally to cross-examine Mr. Macon with a view to breaking down his testimony. Here is the $500. I wish to return it and withdraw from the case.'" "The greatest surprise was manifested by all in the room," said Judge Swain, "and Mr. Hogg went on: 'I had never seen Mr. Macon until this morning. It had been represented to me that his mind was failing and I had often been told that his success in public life was due more to accident than to any greatness. But this morning I have talked with him for four hours, and wish to say that never in my life before have I met any man of his mould and breadth and bigness. If I tried ever so hard I could not make a dent in any testimony he might give; and I would not try—it would seem a cruel wrong and an indignity to even question any statement of that benign and noble man, and I could not do it. You must excuse me. I had no conception that we had so great a philosopher and statesman in the State as Mr. Macon. Never have I spent such a morning or known such a man. The opportunity of this morning's conversation with him has amply repaid me for my trip. Take the money and let me retire from the case.'

"The attorneys and the clients were dumbfounded and I was astonished. None of us could speak for a moment and I waited for the others, being only a witness and a wholly disinterested party. When the local attorneys found their tongues, one of them turned to his clients and said: 'There goes your only hope. The case can not be won if the jury believes Mr. Macon's memory is good—you may as well drop the case.'" The case was dropped, Mr. Hogg returned to Raleigh, strengthened by communing with the simple old statesman, and Judge Swain told the story years after to Senator Ransom as the most remarkable case he had come across in history or in his experience of the impression made by one man upon another.

And yet, although this suncrowned man, who towered as the Colossus of this good State, and for half a century was its political mentor and the idol of the people, we have for some years had a school of teachers and writers and historians in North Carolina who have sought to teach the younger generations that old Nat Macon was little more than a country squire of a moderator size. The inception of this misapprehension of his true greatness came in his own lifetime, when he made every Federalist, who denied the right of the people to rule, bite the dust; and it has been handed down until you will find many people in North Carolina, when you speak of him as his contemporaries measured him, who have no conception of his true greatness. The men who have tried to write down Macon have not been satisfied in their determination to blot out many of the brightest pages in the history of North Carolina. I wish here tonight to enter my solemn protest against the inconoclastic spirit, posing under the name of "historical research," that has sought to traduce the memory of Herman Husbands and the patriotic band of Regulators who, long before any other, were willing to risk their lives for liberty. In a crude and unorganized way they showed that they were the John the Baptists of the Revolutionary War. It is a crime to deny to those men the high place they have always held in our history without dispute until recently. It is cruel, no matter how honest the efforts, and unjust to all our history to try to brand the men who bore valiant part in that early struggle for liberty and justice as lawless marauders, when, in truth, they were the pioneers of patriotism.

Moreover, I wish to enter my earnest protest against the organized propaganda that would make us go to Independence Square in Charlotte and lay profane hands upon the monument erected there to commemorate the patriotism of the Signers of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. There is no page in the history of North Carolina that glows with more ardor and reflects greater glory upon the Commonwealth than the gathering in that little town on the 20th of May, 1775, of John McKnitt Alexander and other plain farmers, who had the courage, when others were serving the King, to declare their independence, and yet, we are asked to tear out this glorious date from the flag of North Carolina and seek to write "Imposter" upon the monument of every man who testified that he signed that Declaration.

The innovators do not stop at tearing down these two glorious historical achievements. They go further and they demand that we shall revise our opinion of Tyron, whom his contemporaries among the patriots of North Carolina declared to be a tyrant, and put him on a pedestal as a patriot and to place him in our Hall of Fame. Some of them go even a step further and wish to blot out the Battle of Alamance. It

took Judge Schenck the best part of his mature life to restore the fame of the men who fought at Guilford Court House.

We have no knowledge, yet, of this propaganda attempting to repudiate the Edenton Tea Party, but I wake up every morning and pick up the paper with fear unless a descendant of some beautiful woman who declined an invitation to the tea party fearing she might offend the King, has procured or manufactured evidence seeking to prove that, instead, of being a patriotic gathering, it was an accidental gathering of old ladies who were knitting stockings to send to the children of Booriboola Ghu, and unless we can have some respect for the traditions of the elders and the well founded facts of history (which these modern iconoclasts seem to be determined shall be destroyed) I am fearful that some so called historian, itching for notoriety, will go to England and return with some documents trying to show that this aforesaid Tory ancestor wrote a letter from Wilmington at that time to the effect that, instead of being a patriotic tea party, the men who threw the tea overboard were a lot of drunken ruffians seek nothing but loot. I tell you, gentlemen of the Historical Commission, the people of North Carolina expect you to preserve the true history of the State and I warn you that they will not approve this modern spirit of iconoclasm. If you do not put your heel on this propaganda you invite the anathema of the Almighty who thundered, "Remove not the ancient landmarks which the fathers have set."

Macon never held any but a legislative office and had declined all others. These positions gave him much time at home, so that, during all the years of his public life he was able to carry on his farming operations, direct the work of his slaves and labor with them himself in the fields in the week and worship with them on the Sabbath. No Lord's day ever passed on his farm when his slaves were not gathered together to hear their humane master read the Scripture to them. Intensely Southern and a firm believer in the doctrines of the State's right as interpreted by his party leaders, Macon did not like slavery. He declared in Congress upon one occasion: "Slavery is a lamentable thing, and I should be glad if there were not an African in this country." But he declared he saw no way of getting rid of "the curse of slavery."

From 1828 until he died, Macon lived quietly at his home, which was the Mecca of North Carolina, many distinguished men from all parts of the country stopping to see the great man whose sound judgment and patriotism was undimmed until the day of his death, in 1837. After his retirement there came two crises in his State when his friends and party associates felt the need of his wisdom and leadership—one the Constitutional Convention in 1835, to which he was elected and was unanimously

chosen President. The most important act of that body was repealing the Constitutional prohibition of Catholics holding office in North Carolina. Mr. Macon made a brief speech in favor of its repeal, breathing the largest view of religious liberty, and in the course of his speech stating that he himself, in religious preference, was "of the Baptist persuasion." The other crisis was in 1836 when he consented to be a Van Buren presidential elector because that service seemed essential to secure the electoral vote of his State to the Democratic candidate for President. In the August election, the Whigs had elected their candidate for Governor, and the Democrats felt that nothing but the prestige of Macon's name as elector would enable Van Buren to carry the State. Glorious old partisan that he was, Macon consented and wrote: "If the wisest man living had predicted that Jackson would have done half the good things he has for the people, no one would have believed him. His doings are known to everybody and need not be repeated. He was manfully abused, because France would not execute the treaty, but the people have manfully supported him and will, I hope, elect a successor who will be like him." Macon's name was a tower of strength to the Democratic party in all the South. His influence turned the tide in North Carolina, and, though the Whigs elected their Governor in August by more than four thousand majority, Van Buren carried the State by more than five thousand. Mr. Macon's last official act was as president of the electoral college that cast its vote for Van Buren.

"He had now reached the age of seventy years, the age in his mature life he had fixed upon as a period of his retirement from public life. More than once he had said to his close friends in the words of the Psalmist: 'The days of our years are three score years and ten; and if by reason of strength they be four score years, yet is their strength labor and sorrow, for it is soon cut off and we fly away.' He was true to all his purposes, he was true to his resolve in this, and executed it with a quietude and indifference of an ordinary transaction. He was in the middle of a third senatorial term, and in the full possession of all his faculties of mind and body, but his time for retirement had come—the time fixed by himself, but fixed upon conviction and for well considered reasons, and as inexorable to him as if fixed by fate. All of his friends urged him to remain until the end of his term, and they insisted that his mind was as good as ever. He answered that it was good enough to let him know that he ought to quit office before his mind quit him and that he did not mean to risk the fate of the Archbishop of Grenada. He resigned his senatorial honors as he had worn them—meekly, unostentatiously, in a letter of thanks and gratitude to the General Assembly of his State, and gave to respose at home that interval of thought and

quietude which every wise man would wish to place between the turmoil of strife and the stillness of eternity. He had nine years of tranquil enjoyment and died without pain or suffering on June 29, 1837—characteristic in death as in life. It was eight o'clock in the morning when he felt that the supreme hour had come. He shaved himself, had himself fully dressed with his habitual neatness, walked into the room and lay upon the bed, by turns conversing kindly with those who were about him, and showing by his conduct that he was ready and waiting, but hurrying nothing. He sent for his physician, paid him and gave directions for his burial. It was the death of Socrates all but the hemlock, and in that full faith of which the Grecian sage had only a glimmering."

The poet had some such noble man as Nathaniel Macon in mind when he wrote these lines:

> **"As some tall cliff that lifts its awful form**
> **Swells from the vale and midway leaves the storm,**
> **That round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,**
> **Eternal sunshine settles on his head."**

America and the South as a Field for New Poetry

ADDRESS BY EDWIN MARKHAM BEFORE THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, DECEMBER 4, 1912.

The South can claim to have given to America the national poet with the most original and distinctive note—Edgar Allan Poe. Poe brought to his work the strictest *credenda* known to the poetic art. He insisted that the poet must be looked on as the creator of beauty—yes, that he must bring us a wilder beauty than earth supplies. He fought the heresy of the didactic; for he well knew that in mere preachment we get only a half truth. He knew that only when truth is added to beauty do we get the perfect orb. He taught us that poetry should aspire forever toward that supernal loveliness we call the Ideal.

The very antithesis appeared in the North in the shaggy personality of Walt Whitman. Here was a man with a stentorian voice, a mastodon step. He swept aside the old criteria of the poet's art; he did not seek for the strange beauty of the ineffable, nor for the delicate and reticent beauty of earth. And yet in his way he was also a nourishing magnetic spirit of poesy—albeit, he lacked a feeling for the restraints that belong to the higher walks of both the muses and the graces of existence. Nevertheless, he does revive our interest in the common way and the common man. He flouted the past with its tradition; for he came to voice "these immediate days of current America."

Here are two poets standing at the opposite foci of the human ellipse. One is seeking for weird beauty in the distant and the dead: the other is seeking for robust emotion in the humanity that surges around us. Poe is aspiration, Whitman is sympathy. The poetry of Poe rises toward the Supernal Loveliness: the poetry of Whitman reaches outward toward the familiar and the human. But neither Poe of the South nor Whitman of the North gave us the whole gospel of poesy.

Poe was too wholly detached from the common and human life, too pallid a pursuer of the fugitive, the irrecoverable joys, the pathos of love and death. Whitman, on the other hand, was too wholly immersed in the prosaic, familiar present. He had too much of the mere sweat and dust of the common road.

The New Poetry must include in her orb both of these hemispheres of the Muse.

It is charged that our America reeks with materialism, that she is breast deep in the mire of the market place, that she knows nothing but the cynical philosophy of worldly success.

There is, alas, too much truth in this; and it is a fact that mere selfish politics and money making tend to send a chill upon the artistic spirit of our people. It is true that the high music of Apollo's lyre is easily drowned by the callous click of the cash register.

Yet there is a divine side to politics and to money making. It is right to upraise and maintain the pillars of the State, for the State is the organ of the social safety. It is also right to make money, for money can procure for us the social and material resources for living a complete life.

And here comes in the function of the poet. It is the poet's high mission to caution us that the forum and the market place must be lifted above the level of the wolf's den and the swine's trough. It is his mission to rouse men to righteousness, to proclaim that every right should be wedded to a duty. If at times the poet sounds the soft pipings of peace, there are other times when he must sound the loud clarion of revolt. In all these ways, the poet is the heavensent seer, who comes to counsel and command, comes ordained to throw upon these concerns of time a light from the eternal world.

So it is that the poet, dwelling on exalted heights, comes to judge the world as it is, in the light of the world as it ought to be; comes to infuse into the hearts of men the lofty courage of life; to create for their consolation and joy that nobler, "wilder beauty than earth supplies." He gives us his "Tintern Abbey," his "Oberman Once More," his "Rabbi Ben Ezra," his "Men of England," his "Locksley Hall," his "Parable," his "Eve of Revolution,"—poems that face the tragic facts of life, and help to build up the hope of the world. The poet is forever chastening our souls with a strange beauty, forever disturbing our easy optimism with a bugle of battle. He sends a noble discontent—a divine impatience—the impatience of the acorn to be an oak. Into the world of the Imperfect, he sends not peace but a sword—a sword bathed in heaven. He points away from the selfish, ephemeral concerns, to the eternal concerns; thunders his averments that to be something is more than to get something; that to make a life is more than to make a living; that to be just, to be brotherly, are the highest interests of practical men.

But where can the poet find the stuff of song? Does he need a great personage, a great spectacle, a great event? No; even simple things are great to the cunning listener and the far looker. There is poetry in the commonplace and nearby, if one goes deep enough to find it. The lines of all things, seen under the revealing light of the imagination, run out into infinite orbits. All things somewhere touch infinity. To the seer no life is common or empty. To him the meanest life may come freighted with tragedy, with pathos, with beauty. The broken figure

of an old woman leaning wearily against a wall may carry more import to the poet's eye than the pageant of a dead queen borne in purple to her sepulcher. To the poet the world is forever young, forever strange, forever springing up out of the abyss of wonder and mystery and silence. It is necessary only to look steadily, with the eyes of the heart, at any thing, for that thing to grow significant and impressive.

It all depends upon the soul that surveys. The genius, the man with the seeing eye, finds field for his powers in any nation, any epoch. The shallow mind is always waiting for a great crisis upon which to spend itself,—the woes of Thebes or Pelops' line. The discerning man sees the great in the little, the uncommon in the commonplace, the abiding in the fugitive. To Keats a moldered urn calls up an hour of buried Hellas to live immortal in the memory of man. To Blake a fly upon a leaf touches him with kindling sympathy and sends upon his heart a vision of the oneness and the wonder of all life. To Lowell the aimless circling of a goldfish in a globe calls forth a lyric scripture on the meaning and the mystery of existence.

While it is true that the material of the poet is everywhere, still, in our America, there is an especial affluence of the stuff for a noble poetry.

The field, however, is not wholly virgin; a stray sickle, from time to time, has already touched its edges, from the sterile hour of Mistress Anne Bradstreet down to the greatening hour of Edith Thomas and Anna Hempstead Branch. We are clear of that old, weary time of artificial, secondhand, ready made landscape, warmed-over emotion, and sucked-out philosophy. Our poets no longer walk by the Merrimac and the Charles to gather English primroses and hawthorn, or to listen to Philomel and the skylark! At last our poets have discovered America! The rhodora, the dandelion, the wild poppy, now glow through their meters; the bluebird, the bobolink, the mockingbird, now carol through their rhymes.

But not only have we flower and bird to tempt the poet's heart, but we have also beauties and glories, myriad and marvelous,—mountains, rivers, lakes, forests stretching a thousand leagues away,—America,—home! The mere vastness of our land appeals to the imaginative passion. All the spaces and faces of our country, like the ideas of our people, have the large outline, the limitless sweep.

Our Niagaras, our Sierras, our Yosemites, our Inland Seas, our tragic deserts, our starless swamps, the tremendous journey of our Mississippi, the eternal thunder of our Oregon, the illimitable stretches of our prairies, the twilight silence of our primeval forests—from these must come our "As You like It," our "Ode to the Skylark," our "Sunrise Hymn to Chamouni." And not all the leagues of Europe, from Land's

End to the Golden Horn; not all the leagues of Asia, from Ararat to Fujiyama, afford so white a field for a harvest of the Muses.

Of course, we are not bereft of poets who have seen some of these larger grandeurs of our land and framed them into song. We have Emerson's "Monadnock," Lanier's "Marshes of Glynn." Hamlin Garland has sung the prairies, Joaquin Miller, the sundown seas. But there are yet long reaches of land and water and sky untouched by song. They await the hour when some poet, with a splendid word, shall give them to man and to immortal memory.

It is the poets of the Old World who have cast the color of romance upon the yellow Tiber, the blue Danube, the brooks of Vallombrosa; who have irradiated the dark pines of Pelion and Ossa; and given to the Ægean a lyric fame that shall endure—

"Till glory and song and story and all things cease."

It is the poet who has given immortality to the towers of Notre Dame, the arches of the Colosseum, the dungeons of Chillon. And it is the poet who must give to the beloved paths and places of America a fadeless charm, a fair eternity.

Our people, too, are unique and picturesque, made of the mixings of all the tribes of men. As they will gather at the last trump in the Valley of Jehosaphat, so they are gathered here,—Caucasian, Malay, African, Mongolian; men from Moses's land, Homer's land, Dante's land, Goethe's land; from the land of Omar, of Cervantes, of Hugo, of Ibsen, of Turgenieff.

This blending of many nations into one new nation gives a fresh impulse to literature, a new spirit to poetry. From this massing and adjusting and inbrothering, spring new activities and audacities of the soul, new purposes, new perils. Out of this melting pot of the race, with its traditions, its superstitions, its nobilities, its vulgarities, its seething potentialities of good and evil, must come an organic unity—a new type of man. And it is the flame and hammer of imagination that must accomplish this mighty mixing and molding. Through the power of imagination God made and poised the worlds. Through the power of it men and nations are banded and held in social unities. It was imagination that shaped and held together the stupendous dream of the Middle Ages,—the Holy Roman Empire. It was imagination, fired by the poet and fed by tradition, that fused England into a solid wall that has held against the havoc of time for nearly a thousand years. It is the imagination that must shape the plaster clay of our commonwealth into a stuff that will endure the chances and changes of time.

Great then is the opportunity—shall I say the duty?—of the poet of

democracy. The old nations are partly held in solidarity by the iron bands of custom and heredity, by the pressure of ages. But in the Old World sense, we have no custom, no heredity. We must be held in oneness by the power of the idea,—the idea of progress and fraternity. Let the American poet hold aloft that great idea till we shall feel that we are not only compatriots, but also brothers; that we are conscripts of one heroic hope, comrades of one destiny.

It will be a new poetry. And yet we have already heard the prelude of its loud and lofty chords. We have heard its beginning in Hood's "Song of the Shirt," and in Mrs. Browning's "Cry of the Children." We have heard it, too, in a larger volume and splendor in Edward Carpenter's "Towards Democracy," and in Swinburne's "Songs Before Sunrise." Also in the cries of protest and prophecy in the pages of the immortal Shelley.

And in our own land, the opening notes of the new song of humanity are heard sounding from the poems of Lowell and Lanier; as well as from some of the younger and later singers in our choir.

And in all this work we find the note of hope, an echo of the bouyant faith of our people. This is the mood of all high creative work. America goes forth to the future with step of power and dawn-illuminated face. She goes forth like another Winged Victory treading the Fates under her swift feet. Her brow is lit with dreams that dare the towers of the Impossible.

America furnishes to the poet the inspiration of great achievement. She has won high place in the constellations of nations; she has snatched secret powers from the sphere of nature; she is on her way to vast victories in the markets of the world. It is to the poet that we must look for an interpretation of the glories of our stronger Carthage, our greater Tyre. It is he who will throw upon our Patent Office reports, our census returns, our ledger accounts, and our enlarging maps, some light from the ideal; who will speak the spiritual significance of events. It is he who, in the perils of our prosperity, must keep alive in the people a faith in the unworldly enterprise, "the unprofitable risk."

Our America lacks one source of poetry,—a shadowy antiquity; the shrines, ruins, and memories of a long-reaching, fateful, and pathetic past.

As a nation we are only in the youth of things. It was but yesterday, as run the calends of time, that we set our adventurous faces toward this western wilderness. It was but yesterday that the little brigs of England folded weary wings at Plymouth Rock, and the caravels of Spain went blundering up the coast of the Californias. Brief as our past is, it nevertheless holds men and events worthy of song and story. Thus far

we have an epic for the Indian, a genial rhyme for the Yankee, a pastoral for the Puritan, a dithyrambic for the *"Camerado."* But there wait unsung many an idyl and many an epic of the home making of the Pioneer, of the gold seeking of the Argonaut, of the passing of the Spaniard, of the chaining and the unchaining of the African.

As for our border balladry, we have hardly heard only the first notes of it. And yet a nation without its balladry is like a dawn without its morning star. Still we have a wide and varied field for such lyric adventures. We have the weird witchcraft era of New England; the homely Dutch period of New Amsterdam; the vivid and earnest epoch of the Huguenot fugitives; the courtly cycle of the Tidewater Cavaliers of Virginia; the perilous explorings of the French about the Great Lakes; the idyllic pastoral occupation of the Spanish Missions of the Far West; the romantic career of the Creole in old Louisiana.

These touch a few of the high lights of the past, peoples and events rich in possibility for the poet. But the present also lifts its beckoning hand to the poet. Some minstrel must come to sing the battle of man with the mysterious and colossal forests of the great Northwest—to sing of the gigantic spectacle of seedtime and harvest in our Middle West, where enormous wheat fields go billowing over States as large as kingdoms,—to sing of the tragic mystery of our blanched and barren deserts of far Arizona,—to sing of the immemorial struggle of the fisherfolk of New England who go out to dare the dangers of wind and wave—of the snowy cotton fields that run as white foam to meet the dancing foam of the Gulf.

But more than this, there waits for the poet the great spectacle of the modern workers in their toils and battles.

As the years go on, the old types of the hero—the soldier and the explorer—will fade into the background, and the workingman, upon whom depends our safety and our comfort, will come more and more into the front of the world's affairs. We are all beginning to see that the soldier should be given less work; and we all know that the explorer's work is nearly done; only the poles are left for him to seek. So the trusted man who works is becoming the chief power in civilization, the foremost figure in our new romance of industry. He is harnessing our rivers; he is caverning our mountains; he is bridging our canyons; he is making our deserts to blossom; he is building and beautifying our cities.

The Southerners, the most daring leaders of American thought in the time of the Revolution, went back after the war to their quiet plantations, their classic libraries, their courtly leisure with their troops of slaves. They resumed the old life scarce touched by the currents of trade and commerce that were seething over the rest of the world. The

unequal conditions of life and labor shut them more and more into the past.

It was not the age of letters in the South. Literature was only a chance diversion, no one thought of it as a profession. The newer literature sifted slowly among the people. Literary magazines died out one by one. Story tellers worked over old situations and old conventions, taking little account of the things at hand, the problems of the day.

But the South in its new germinal burst of the spirit has begun, in its friction, to utter itself in a sort of *vita nuovo*. Yet still its forces are greater than literature. Craddock, Glasgow, Thomas Nelson Page, James Lane Allen, Mrs. Corra Harris,—each is an artist in his or her degree and touches the large elemental things, yet keeps also the pulse of the near and the familiar.

The South has a peculiar treasure in its rich store of material waiting to be turned into literature. It has preserved the flavor of its past as no other region of this country has. There is an atmosphere about the South that is peculiarly its own. Owen Wister catches it in Lady Baltimore; Mrs. Pryor and Marion Harland in biography have reflected this gracious and spacious air. From this fund of history and memory writers of the future will draw phases of morals and manners, of struggles and passions, of ardors, agonies, expiations of all the human experiences.

Out of the rich soil of the past will spring up the literature of a newer and richer humanity, for the South has again caught step with the world spirit.

In the past the workers toiled in obscurity with little recognition; but now they are beginning to take their honorable place in the world's eye. Indeed they are to help mightily in molding our nation nearer and nearer to the ideals of justice and brotherhood. The future is in their strong hands—in the hands of the trusted workers who put mind into muscle and heart into handiwork.

But, if America has no spacious past, she has a spacious future. She has a Messianic mission to the nations of the earth. What poet's heart can fail to believe that she has been reserved to these later ages by the Higher Power for some vast purpose, some transcendent manifestation? Here certainly is to be worked out the highest freedom the world has ever known.

So democracy comes as the supreme fact of the century. The rise of the democratic spirit has sent new impulses, new accents on all art. We are beginning to see the significance in the common and the human. The sabot is pushing aside the purfled shoe; the blouse is obscuring the velvet mantle.

To the life of the people, then, the life of the toiling millions, art is beginning to look for a new inspiration, a new courage, a new joy. Painters have caught its homely tragedy. Poets are realizing its terrible pathos, its tender beauty, its epical force. And, with this new art ideal, a new economic ideal is beginning to demand a new world, wherein I shall ask nothing for myself or my child that all others can not have on equal terms. Man is progressing, but each step of his progress seems only to reveal new rights to demand and new freedom to conquer. We have achieved religious and political freedom, but now we are in the beginnings of a struggle for industrial freedom,—the greatest struggle that has yet come upon civilization. It will not be the conquest of princes but the conquest of poverties. But the realization of this new liberty will demand the sinews of heroes, the wisdom of sages, the passion of poets. The Crusades, the Christianization of Europe, the emancipation of chattel slaves in two worlds,—all the moral adventures of the past are dwarfed in the presence of this new ideal that now begins to press upon the conscience of nations. Into this world-struggle the poet of America will be drawn for a new and prophetic utterance.

What is the meaning of it all? It means that the old epic was "Arms and the man"; but that the new epic is "Tools and the Man." It means that the Book of Kings is closed and the Book of the People is opening.

EXERCISES IN CONNECTION

WITH THE

PRESENTATION TO THE STATE

BY THE

North Carolina Historical Commission

OF A BUST

OF

JOHN MOTLEY MOREHEAD

Hall of the House of Representatives,
December 4, 1912

Introductory Note

On December 4, 1912, in the Hall of the House of Representatives and in the rotunda of the State Capitol, the North Carolina Historical Commission presented to the State a handsome marble bust of John Motley Morehead, Governor of North Carolina, 1840-1844. The bust was a donation to the Commission from Governor Morehead's grandsons, John Motley Morehead and J. Lindsay Patterson, and was executed by the wellknown sculptor, Frederick Wellington Ruckstuhl. The exercises in connection with the presentation consisted of an address on "John Motley Morehead: Architect and Builder of Public Works," by R. D. W. Connor; the Address of Presentation, by Hon. J. Bryan Grimes, Chairman of the North Carolina Historical Commission; and the Address of Acceptance on behalf of the Governor, by Hon. J. Y. Joyner, Superintendent of Public Instruction.

John Motley Morehead: Architect and Builder of Public Works[1]

By R. D. W. Connor.

An Address Delivered in the Hall of the House of Representatives, December 4, 1912, upon the Presentation to the State of a Bust of Governor Morehead by the North Carolina Historical Commission.

Along the line of the North Carolina Railroad, from its eastern terminus at Goldsboro to its western terminus at Charlotte, lie eleven counties embracing six thousand square miles of territory, now one of the most prosperous and productive regions in North Carolina. During the decade from 1840 to 1850, perhaps no other State on the entire Atlantic seaboard could have exhibited a stretch of country of equal area which presented to the patriotic citizen so discouraging a prospect or so hopeless an outlook. Such a citizen traversing this region would have found public roads and methods of travel and transportation that were primitive when George III claimed the allegiance of the American colonies. Delays, inconveniences, and discomforts were the least of the evils that beset the traveler who entrusted life and limbs to the public conveyances of that period.[2] The cost of transportation was so great that the profits of one half the planters' crops were consumed in getting the other half to market, and hundreds of them found it profitless to pro-

[1]John Motley Morehead was born in Pittsylvania County, Virginia, July 4, 1796, son of John Morehead and Obedience Motley. In 1798 his parents moved to Rockingham County, North Carolina, where John grew to manhood. He was prepared for college partly under the private instruction of Thomas Settle and partly at the Academy of Dr. David Caldwell, near Greensboro. He afterwards entered the University of North Carolina, from which he was graduated in 1817. In his junior year he was appointed a tutor in the University. From 1828 to 1866 he served on the Board of Trustees, and in 1849 was President of the Alumni Association. Morehead was the sixth alumnus of the University to become Governor of North Carolina. After his graduation from the University he studied law under Archibald D. Murphey. In 1819, receiving his license to practice, he settled at Wentworth, county seat of Rockingham County, where he lived until his marriage to Miss Ann Eliza Lindsay, eldest daughter of Col. Robert Lindsay, of Guilford County. He removed to Greensboro which continued to be his home during the rest of his life.

[2]"The road [from Weldon to Gaston] was as bad as anything, under the name of a road, can be conceived to be. Whenever the adjoining swamps, fallen trees, stumps, and plantation fences would admit of it, the coach was driven, with a great deal of dexterity, out of the road. When the wheels sunk in the mud, below the hubs, we were sometimes requested to get out and walk. An upset seemed every moment inevitable. At length, it came."—Frederick Law Olmsted. "A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States," 1853-1854. Vol. I, page 348. "From personal observations, I have found the roads leading from Raleigh westward, for the distance of fifty or sixty miles, * * * decidedly the worst in the State."—Governor Morehead's message to the Legislature of 1842. Journal of the General Assembly, page 409.

duce more than their own families could use.[3] In 1853 a traveler, within thirty miles of the State Capitol, saw "three thousand barrels of an article worth a dollar and a half a barrel in New York, thrown away, a mere heap of useless offal, because it would cost more to transport it than it would be worth."[4]

Under such conditions there could be, of course, no commerce, and without commerce no markets. Such commerce as the produce of the fertile valleys and plateaux of the Piedmont section created found its way to the markets of Virginia and South Carolina; and among the people who dwelt west of Greensboro, declared Governor Morehead in 1842, "Cheraw, Camden, Columbia, * * * Augusta, and Charleston are much more familiarly known than even Fayetteville and Raleigh."[5] In all the region from Goldsboro to Charlotte, Raleigh, then a straggling country village, was the only town of sufficient importance to be noted in the United States census of 1850. This section, now the heart of the manufacturing region of the South, reported to the census takers of that year no other manufactures than a handful of "homemade" articles valued at $396,473. The social and labor systems upon which the civilization of the State was founded confined the energies of the people almost exclusively to agriculture, yet their farming operations were so crude and unproductive that a traveler, commenting on the agriculture in the vicinity of Raleigh, found it "a mystery how a town of 2,500 inhabitants can obtain sufficient supplies from it to exist."[6] This was not the view merely of an unsympathetic stranger. Calvin H. Wiley, attempting to arouse his fellow members of the Legislature of 1852 from their indifference and lethargy, after referring to the "magnificent capitol" in which they sat, exclaimed, "But what is the view from these porticoes, and what do we see as we travel hither? Wasted fields and decaying tenements; long stretches of silent desolation with here and there a rudely cultivated farm and a tottering barn."[7]

But more forcible than any other evidence, because incontrovertible, is the testimony of the United States census. The census reports of 1840 show that nearly one-third of the adult white population of the State could neither read nor write. The population of the State was at

[3]Speaking of the building of a turnpike, from Raleigh westward, Governor Morehead in his message of 1842, said: "Labor can not be difficult to obtain in a region now growing cotton at six cents per pound, corn at one dollar per barrel, and wheat so low that it takes one half to transport the other to market."—Journals of the Legislature 1842-'43, page 411. "A farmer told me that he considered twenty-five bushels of corn a large crop, and that he generally got as much as fifteen. He said that no money was to be got by raising corn, and very few farmers here [about ten miles from Raleigh] 'made' any more than they needed for their own force. It cost too much to get it to market."—Olmsted, "Seaboard Slave States," Vol. I, page 358.

[4]Olmsted: A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States. 1853-1854. Vol. I, page 369.

[5]Annual Message. Legislative Journals, 1842-'43, page 409.

[6]Olmsted.

[7]Speech in favor of his bill to appoint a State Superintendent of Common Schools.

a standstill. From 1830 to 1840, thirty-two of the sixty-eight counties of North Carolina lost in population, while the increase in the State as a whole was less than two and a half per cent.[8] The best blood of North Carolina, refusing to remain at home and stagnate, was flowing in a steady stream into the vast and fertile regions of the South and West; and that brain and energy which should have been utilized in developing the resources of North Carolina was being forced to seek an outlet in other regions where it went to lay the foundations of Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas, of Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana. Dr. Wiley was guilty of no exaggeration when he declared that North Carolina had "long been regarded by her own citizens as a mere nursery to grow up in"; that the State had become a great camping ground on which the inhabitants were merely tenanted for a while; and that thousands were annually seeking homes elsewhere whose sacrifices in moving would have paid for twenty years their share of taxation sufficient to give to North Carolina all the fancied advantages of those regions whither they went to be taxed with disease and suffering. The melancholy sign "For Sale" seemed plowed in deep black characters over the whole State, and the State flag which floated over the Capitol was jestingly called by our neighbors of Virginia and South Carolina an auctioneer's sign. "The ruinous effects," said he, "are eloquently recorded in deserted farms, in wide wastes of guttered sedgefields, in neglected resources, in the absence of improvements, and in the hardships, sacrifices and sorrows of constant emigration."

Such was the view which Central North Carolina presented to the keen eyes of John M. Morehead when, in the closing days of 1840, he journeyed from Greensboro to Raleigh to assume his duties and responsibilities as Chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth. As desolate as the prospect was, however, Morehead's foresight saw in it not a little to give him courage. He must have realized that North Carolina was standing at the turn of the road and that much depended on the wisdom and prudence with which he himself directed her choice of future routes. Four years before a new Constitution, profoundly affecting the political life of the State, had gone into operation, from which Morehead, and other leaders who thought as he did, had prophesied great results for the upbuilding of the State. This new Constitution had paved the way for the work of a small group of constructive statesmen, of whom Morehead was now the chosen leader, who were destined to direct and lead the public thought of North Carolina during the quarter century from 1835 to 1860.

Among these men two distinct types of genius were represented. On

[8]Population in 1830, 737,987; in 1840, 753,409.

the one hand there were the dreamers,—men who had the power of vision to see what the future held in store for their country, who wrote and spoke forcibly of what they foresaw, but lacked the power to convince men of the practicability of their visions. On the other hand there were the so called practical men,—men who knew well enough how to construct what other men had planned, but lacked the power of vision necessary to see beyond the common everyday affairs that surrounded and engrossed them. Once in an age appears that rare individual, both architect and contractor, both poet and man of action, to whom is given both the power to dream and the power to execute. Such men write themselves deep in their country's annals and make the epochs of history.

In the history of North Carolina such a man was John M. Morehead. Those who have written and spoken of Governor Morehead heretofore have been chiefly impressed with his great practical wisdom,[9] and this he certainly had as much as any other man in our history. As for myself, what most impresses me after a careful study of his life and works, is his wonderful power of vision. He was our most visionary builder, our greatest practical dreamer. No other man of his day had so clear a vision of the future to which North Carolina was destined, or did so much to bring about its realization as Governor Morehead. It is no exaggeration to say that we have not now in process of construction, and have not had since his day, a single great work of internal improvement of which he did not dream and for which he did not labor. He dreamed of great lines of railroad binding together not only all sections of North Carolina, but connecting this State with every part of the American Union. He dreamed of a network of improved country roads leading from every farm in the State to all her markets. He dreamed of a great central highway, fed by these roads, finding its origin in the waters of the Atlantic at Morehead City and finally losing itself in the clouds that hang about the crests of the Blue Ridge. He dreamed of the day when the channels of our rivers would be so deepened and widened that they could bear upon their waters our share of the commerce of the world. He dreamed of an inland waterway connecting the harbor of Beaufort with the waters of Pamlico Sound and through the opening of Roanoke Inlet, affording a safe inland passage for coastwise vessels around the whitecaps of Cape Hatteras. He dreamed of the day when the flags of all nations might be seen floating from the mastheads of their fleets riding at anchor in the harbors of Beaufort and

[9]Kerr, John, "Oration on the Life and Character of John M. Morehead"; In Memoriam of John M. Morehead, Raleigh, 1868; Scott, William Lafayette, "Tribute to the Genius and Worth of John M. Morehead"; *Ibid;* Smith, C. Alphonso, "John Motley Morehead"; The Biographical History of North Carolina, Vol. VI, pp. 250–258; Wooten, Council, "Governor Morehead"; Charlotte *Daily Observer*, September 30, 1901.

Wilmington. He dreamed of a chain of mills and factories dotting every river bank in the State and distributing over these highways of commerce a variety of products bearing the brand of North Carolina manufacturers.

Such were his dreams, and the history of North Carolina during the last half-century is largely the story of their realization. It is this fact that gives to Morehead his unique place in our history. He had a distinguished political career, but his fame is not the fame of the office holder.[10] Indeed, no other man in our history, save Charles B. Aycock alone, in so brief a public career, made so deep an impression on the life of the State. The explanation is simple. The public service of each was inspired by a genuine love of the State and consecrated to the accomplishment of a great purpose. The educational and intellectual development which Aycock stimulated was based on the material prosperity of which Morehead laid the foundation. It is, then, his service as architect and builder of great and enduring public works that gives to Morehead his distinctive place in our annals, and it is of this service that I shall speak today.

When Morehead began his public career the prevailing political thought of the State was, in modern political vernacular, reactionary. Representation was distributed equally among the counties, regardless of population. East of Raleigh, where the institution of slavery was most strongly entrenched, thirty-five counties with a combined population of 294,312, sent to the General Assembly sixteen more Commoners and eight more Senators than twenty-seven counties west of Raleigh which had a combined population of 50,205 more people. A property qualification was requisite for membership in the General Assembly and inasmuch as all State officials were elected by the Legislature, not by the people directly, Property, not Men, controlled the government. The theory of Property was that the best government is that which governs least. Adherents of this school of politics taught, therefore, that government had fulfilled its mission when it had preserved order, punished crime, and kept down the rate of taxation. But another school of political thought, originating in the counties west of Raleigh, where the institution of slavery had not secured so strong a foothold, was now beginning to make itself heard. Its adherents favored a constitutional

[10] In 1821 he represented Rockingham County in the House of Commons; in 1826, 1827 and 1858 he represented Guilford County in the House, and in 1860 in the Senate. He was one of the delegates from Guilford in the Convention of 1835. In 1840 he was elected Governor, and in 1842 was re-elected. He was the permanent presiding officer of the National Whig Convention, which met at Philadelphia, June 7, 1848, and nominated General Zachary Taylor for the Presidency. By the act establishing the North Carolina Insane Asylum he was designated as Chairman of the Board of Commissioners to locate and build the asylum. In 1857 he was elected President of the association organized for the purpose of erecting at Greensboro a monument to General Nathanael Greene. He was one of the delegates from North Carolina to the Peace Congress at Washington in 1861. In 1861–'62 he was a member of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States. He died at Greensboro, August 27, 1866.

convention to revise the basis of representation, to give to the people the right to elect their chief magistrate, and in other respects to make the government popular in practice as well as in form; and they advocated internal improvements, geological surveys, the conservation of resources, asylums for the insane, public schools, schools for the deaf and dumb and for the blind, and numerous other progressive measures which all right thinking people now acknowledge to be governmental in their nature. These men were the Progressives of their day.

Morehead found his place among these Progressives. As a member of the General Assembly he was among the foremost in advocating a constitutional convention. He supported measures for the building of good roads, for the digging of canals, for the improvement of inland navigation, for drainage of swamps, and for railroad surveys.[11] He opposed a bill to prevent the education of negroes, moved the appointment of a select committee on the colonization of slaves, introduced a bill providing for their emancipation under certain conditions, and displayed so much interest in measures for the amelioration of the conditions of the slaves that his opponents, when he became a candidate for Governor, charged him with being at heart an Abolitionist.[12] He endeavored to secure the appropriation of funds for the collection of material for the preservation of the history of North Carolina[13] and took a deep interest in all measures for the promotion of public education. In 1827, while he was chairman of the Committee on Education, a bill came before his committee to repeal the Act of 1825 which had created the Literary Fund "for the establishment of common schools." Morehead submitted the report of the committee, in which he said:

> Your committee believe that the passage of that act [to establish common schools] must have been greeted by every philanthropist and friend of civil liberty as the foundation on which was to rest the future happiness of our citizens and the perpetuity of our political institutions. * * * From the very nature of our civil institutions, the people must act; it is wisdom and policy to teach them to act from the lights of reason, and not from the blind impulse of deluded feeling. * * * Independent of any political influence that general education might have, your committee are of opinion that any State or sovereign, having the means at command, are morally criminal if they neglect to contribute to each citizen or subject that individual usefulness and happiness which arises from a well cultured understanding. * * * Your committee can not conceive a nobler idea than that of the genius of our coun-

[11] In the Legislature of 1821 he voted with the minority for a resolution providing for the calling of a Constitutional Convention; for a bill "to provide an additional fund for internal improvements"; in 1826, for a bill to improve the navigation of the Cape Fear River below Wilmington, and for a similar bill in 1827; for the survey of a route for a railroad from New Bern through Raleigh, to the western counties.

[12] The Raleigh *Standard* called him an Abolitionist because as a Member of the Legislature he "drew a report against the proposition of Mr. Stedman, from Chatham, forbidding the instruction of slaves." Quoted in the Raleigh *Register*, January 3, 1840.

[13] He introduced a resolution to advance money from the Literary Fund to be used "in aiding Archibald D. Murphey, of Orange County, in writing and publishing the History of this State," to be repaid from the proceeds of a lottery authorized by the Legislature for the purpose.

try, hovering over the tattered son of some miserable hovel, leading his infant but gigantic mind in the paths of useful knowledge, and pointing out to his noble ambition the open way by which talented merit may reach the highest honors and preferments of our government.

The committee, accordingly, unanimously recommended the rejection of the bill to discontinue the Literary Fund.[14] The recommendation was accepted, the bill was lost, the Literary Fund was saved, and the foundation on which our common school system was afterwards built was preserved intact.

In the Convention of 1835, in which he represented Guilford County, Morehead supported the amendments offered to the Constitution designed to democratize the State Government. Two of these amendments in particular have had a far reaching influence on our history. One of them placed representation in the House of Commons on a basis of Federal population; the other took away from the Legislature the election of the Governor and gave it to the people. To this latter change we may trace the origin of two of the most important political institutions of our own day,—the party State Convention and the preëlection canvass of the State by the nominees for State offices.

The first party State Convention ever held in North Carolina was the Whig Convention which met in Raleigh, November 12, 1839, and nominated John M. Morehead for Governor.[15] Reading the contemporary newspaper reports of this Convention shortly after attending the last State Convention held in this city in June of the present year, one is greatly impressed with the marked contrast in the two bodies. They were typical of the political conditions of the two eras in which they were held. The latter with its more than one thousand cheering, shouting, declaiming delegates, uncontrolled and uncontrollable, was truly representative of the aggressive direct democracy of the twentieth century. The former with its ninety-one sober, orderly, deliberative gentlemen of the old school, thoroughly responsive to the mallet of their chairman, was just as truly representative of the staid, self-restrained, representative democracy of the early nineteenth century.

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[14]Coon, Charles L.: Public Education in North Carolina, 1790-1840; Vol. I, page 376.

[15]Ex-Gov. John Owen, delegate from Bladen, presided. A General Committee of Thirteen, one from each Congressional District, was appointed "to take into consideration the purposes for which the Convention had assembled" and to report thereon. November 13th, this committee reported, among other resolutions, the following: "Resolved, That having been inspired with a deep and lively sense of the eminent practical vigor, sound Republican principles, unblemished public and private virtues, ardent patriotism and decided abilities of John M. Morehead, of the County of Guilford, we do accordingly recommend him to our fellow citizens as a fit successor to our present enlightened Chief Magistrate, Governor Dudley."—Adopted *unanimously*. The platform of the Convention favored: (1) Economy in government; (2) Reform in the revenue system; (3) Reduction in the number of government employees; (4) Selection of government employees "without discrimination of parties"; (5) An Amendment to the Federal Constitution to abolish the Electoral College; (6) One term of four years for the President; (7) A National Bank; (8) A division of the proceeds of public lands among the States on a basis of Federal population; (9) Public education; (10) Strict Construction of the Constitution. It opposed: (1) Jackson's Spoil System; (2) Appointment of Members of Congress to Federal offices during their terms in Congress; (3) Making judicial appointments for partisan reasons; (4) Interference of Federal Officers in elections; (5) Protective tariff; (6) The Federal Government's making internal improvements "except such as may be stampt with a national character"; (7) The Sub-Treasury scheme; (8) Federal interference with slavery.

Morehead's election as Governor followed a campaign that is memorable in the history of North Carolina as the first in which candidates for public office ever made a canvass of the State.[16] But in other respects also his election and inauguration as Chief Executive marks a turning point in our history. He was the first Governor to sit in this Capitol, in itself typical of the new era then dawning upon the State;[17] and, what is more important still, he was the first of our Governors to discard the old *laissez faire* policy which his predecessors had followed since the Revolution, and to come into office with a distinct program in view. This program he outlined in very general terms in his Inaugural Address before the Members of the General Assembly, in the course of which he said:

I shall be happy to coöperate with you in bringing into active operation all the elements of greatness and usefulness with which our State is so abundantly blessed. Other States have outstripped us in the career of improvements, and in the development of their natural resources, but North Carolina will stand a favorable comparison with most of her sister States in her natural advantages,—her great extent of fertile soil, her great variety of production, her exhaustless deposits of mineral wealth, her extraordinary water-power, inviting to manufactures, all, all combine to give her advantages that few other States possess. Whatever measures you may adopt to encourage agriculture and to induce the husbandman while he toils and sweats to hope that his labors will be duly rewarded; whatever measures you may adopt to facilitate commerce and to aid industry in all departments of life to reap its full rewards, will meet with my cordial approbation. * * * It is equally our duty, fellow citizens, to attend to our moral and intellectual cultivation. * * * It is to our common schools, in which every child can receive the rudiments of an education, that our attention should be mainly directed. Our system is yet in its infancy; it will require time and experience to give to it its greatest perfection. * * * I doubt not, in due time, the legislative wisdom of the State will perfect the system as far as human sagacity can do it. And no part of my official duty will be performed with more pleasure than that part which may aid in bringing about that happy result.[18]

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[16]Morehead's opponent in 1840 was Romulus M. Saunders. The vote was, Morehead 44,484; Saunders, 35,903; Morehead's majority, 8,581. In 1842 Morehead's opponent was Louis D. Henry. The vote was, Morehead, 37,943; Henry, 34,411; Morehead's majority, 3,532. The falling off in Morehead's vote is attributable to the disorganization of the Whig party following the death of President Harrison, and the defection of President Tyler. Morehead's first inauguration was January 1, 1841; his second, December 31, 1842.

[17]Referring to this fact in his Inaugural Address before the General Assembly he said:

"You are the first legislative body that ever had the honor to assemble in its splendid halls. I am the first Executive who ever had the honor to be installed within its durable walls. It will endure as a monument for ages to come of the munificence, the liberality and taste of the age in which we live. There is a moral effect produced by the erection of such an edifice as this,—it will serve in the chain of time to link the past with the future. And if ever that proud spirit that has ever characterized us, which has ever been ready to assert its rights and to avenge its wrongs, which exhibited itself at the Regulation Battle of 1770 [1771], which burnt with more brilliance at the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence in 1775, and which boldly declared for independence in 1776,—if ever that proud spirit shall become craven in time to come, and shall not dare animate the bosom of a freeman, let it look upon this monument and remember the glorious institution under which its foundations were laid, and the noble people by whom it was reared, and then let it become a slave if it can. May it endure for ages to come—may it endure until time itself shall grow old; may a thousand years find these halls still occupied by freemen legislating for a free and happy people."—Raleigh *Register*, January 5, 1841.

[18]Raleigh *Register*, January 5, 1841.

But we should not expect a man of Governor Morehead's great practical wisdom to content himself with general observations. To reduce these general observations into a concrete, practical system was the work of his first two years in the Governor's office, and when the Legislature of 1842 met he was ready with a message outlining a complete system of internal improvements.[19] His scheme embraced the further extension of the railroad lines already built in the State, the improvement of our rivers and harbors, the construction of extensive lines of turnpikes, and the linking of all three together in one general system of transportation. One of the ablest public documents in our history, this message, for its practical bearing on the problems of our own day, still repays a careful study. With reference to the great inland waterway now nearing completion, of which the connection between Pamlico Sound and Beaufort Harbor forms an important link, he said:

Turning our attention to the eastern part of the State, two improvements said to be practicable, assume an importance that renders them national in their character. I allude to the opening of Roanoke Inlet and the connection of Pamlico Sound by a ship canal with Beaufort harbor. Frequent surveys of the first of these proposed improvements * * * establish the feasibility of this work. The advantages arising from this improvement to our commerce are too obvious to need pointing out. But the view to be taken of its vast importance is in the protection it will afford to our shipping and the lives of our seamen. The difficulty and dangers often encountered at Ocracoke Inlet render the connection between Pamlico Sound and Beaufort harbor of vast importance to the convenience and security of our commerce and shipping. It will be an extension of that inland navigation, so essential to us in time of war, and give access to one of the safest harbors on our coast, and one from which a vessel can be quicker at sea than from any other, perhaps, on the continent. In these improvements the commerce of the nation is interested; it becomes the duty of the nation to make them, if they be practicable and proper. I therefore recommend that you bring the attention of Congress to the subject in the manner most likely to effect the object. * * * We should assert a continual claim to our right to have this work effected by the general government. * * * You would be saved the trouble of this appeal if the nation could witness one of those storms so frequent on our coast—could witness the war of elements which rage around Hatteras and the dangers which dance about Ocracoke—could witness the noble daring of our pilots and the ineffectual but manly struggles of our seamen—could see our coast fringed with wrecks and our towns filled with the widows and orphans of our gallant tars. Justice and humanity would extort what we now ask in vain.

[19]This message is published in the Journals of the Legislature, Session of 1842-'43, pp. 405-422; also in the Public Documents of the same year. Doc. No. 1.

Of the conditions of transportation and travel in the central section of the State, he said:

I would respectfully invite your attention to the public highways generally. * * * From Fayetteville, the highest point of good navigation, westward to the Buncombe Turnpike, a distance of some two hundred and fifty or three hundred miles, what navigable stream, railroad, turnpike, or macadamized highway gives to the laborer facilities of transportation? None! Literally none! This vast extent of territory, reaching from the Blue Ridge in the west to the alluvial region in the east, and extending across the whole State, it is believed, will compare with any spot upon the globe for the fertility of its soil, the variety of its productions, the salubrity of its climate, the beauty of its landscapes, the richness of its mines, the facilities for manufactures, and the intelligence and moral worth of its population. Can another such territory, combining all these advantages, be found upon the face of the whole earth, so wholly destitute of natural or artificial facilities for transportation?

"What scheme, that is practicable," he asked, "will afford the desired facilities?" And in answer to this query he made two recommendations.

The remedy for these evils is believed to be in good turnpikes. * * * I therefore recommend that a charter be granted to make a turnpike road from the city of Raleigh to some point westward selected with a view to its ultimate continuance to the extreme west. * * * Should this road be continued to Waynesboro [now Goldsboro], which might be done at comparatively small expense, the farmer would have the choice of markets, of Wilmington by the railroad, or New Bern by the river Neuse.

Further he recommended:

That a charter be granted to make a turnpike from Fayetteville to the Yadkin River at some point above the Narrows, or, if deemed more expedient, to some point on a similar road leading from Raleigh westward, thus giving the west the advantages of both markets. * * * Should this road ever reach the Yadkin, no doubt is entertained of its continuance across the Catawba westward—thus giving to this road the advantages which will arise from the navigation of these two noble rivers.

Nearly seventy years were to pass before the State was ready for the execution of these plans, and it was left for the engineers of 1912 to realize what the statesman of 1842 had dreamed. A vaster work was waiting the constructive genius of Morehead.

Turning his eyes farther westward, Governor Morehead foresaw the future development of the mountainous section of North Carolina. To make this region more interesting, he declared, we have only to make it more accessible, and continuing, he said:

The sublimity and beauty of its mountain scenery, the purity of its waters, the buoyancy and salubrity of its atmosphere, the fertility of its valleys, the

verdure of its mountains, and, above all, its energetic, intelligent and hospitable inhabitants, make it an inviting portion of the State. * * * When good roads shall be established in that region, it is believed the population will increase with rapidity, agriculture improve, grazing will be extended, and manufactures and the mechanic arts will flourish in a location combining so many advantages and inviting their growth. The improved highways will be additional inducements to the citizens of other sections of our State to abandon their usual northern tours, or visits to the Virginia watering places, for a tour much more interesting among our own mountains, much cheaper, and much more beautiful—a tour in which they will inspire health in every breath and drink in health at every draught.

Governor Morehead did not expect, indeed he did not desire that the General Assembly should proceed to put all of his recommendations into immediate effect. He realized only too well that such a procedure would require enormous outlays far beyond the resources of the State, and he never forgot that debts contracted today must be paid tomorrow. Sufficient warning of the effects of such a course was not lacking. Many of the Southern and Western States embarking in wild and extravagant schemes of internal improvements had made such vast expenditures that their treasuries had become bankrupt and their people oppressed with obligations which they could not meet; and to extricate themselves they had resorted to the very simple but very effective means of repudiation. If Governor Morehead loved progress much, he detested repudiation more; and the most vigorous passage in his message is that in which he warns the Legislature against such a course. Said he:

I would recommend that whatever schemes of expenditure you may embark in, you keep within the means at the command of the State; otherwise the people must be taxed more heavily or the State must contract a loan. The pressure of the times forbids the former—the tarnished honor of some of the States should make us, for the present, decline the latter. The mania for State banking and the mad career of internal improvements, which seized a number of the States, have involved them in an indebtedness very oppressive, but not hopeless. American credit and character requires that this stain of violated faith should be obliterated by our honest acknowledgment of the debt, and a still more honest effort to pay it. I therefore recommend the passage of resolutions expressive of the strong interest which this State feels in the full redemption of every pledge of public faith, and of its utter detestation of the abominable doctrine of Repudiation. That State which honestly owes a debt and has or can command the means of payment, and refuses to pay because it can not be compelled to do so, has already bartered Public Honor, and only waits an increase of price to barter Public Liberty. This recommendation will come with peculiar force from you. North Carolina has been jeered for sluggishness and indolence, because she has chosen to guard her treasury and protect her honor by avoiding debt and promptly meeting her engagements. She has yielded to others the glory of their

magnificent expenditures and will yield to them all that glory which will arise from a repudiation of their contracts. In the language of one of her noblest sons, "It is better for her to sleep on in indolence and innocence than to wake up in infamy and treason."

The schemes outlined in Morehead's message of 1842 were laid before a Legislature controlled by the Democratic party, and the policy of that party was hostile to internal improvements. Morehead accordingly was forced to wait upon events for the consummation of his great schemes. In outlining these schemes he had given evidences of his extraordinary power of vision; the next few years were to bring him an opportunity to demonstrate his ability to transform his dreams into actual realities. This opportunity, for which he had so long waited, came with the passage by the Legislature of 1849 of the act to charter "The North Carolina Railroad Company." The history of this measure—the long and bitter contest between the East and the West over the proposed railroad from Charlotte to Danville, the statesmanlike compromise of its advocates in accepting the road from Charlotte to Goldsboro, the prolonged struggle and ultimate victory in the House of Commons, the dramatic scene in the Senate wherein Calvin Graves immolated his own personal ambition on the altar of public duty,—all this has been described so often that it is not necessary to repeat the story here. The act authorized the organization of a corporation with stock of $3,000,000, of which the State was to take $2,000,000 when private individuals had subscribed $1,000,000 and actually paid in $500,000. North Carolina had long stood at the turn of the road hesitatingly. By the passage of this act she finally made her decision. The enthusiam of Governor Morehead, who was not usually given to picturesque language, was too great for plain speech. "The passage of the act," he declared, "under which this company is organized was the dawning of hope to North Carolina; the securing its charter was the rising sun of that hope; the completion of the road will be the meridian glory of that hope, pregnant with the results that none living can divine."[20]

For the next five years, during which the private subscription of $1,000,000 was secured, the charter obtained, the company organized, the route surveyed, and the road constructed, the dominant figure in its history is the figure of John M. Morehead. In this period he performed his greatest service to the State and enrolled his name permanently among the builders of the Commonwealth. The experience of North Carolina in railroad building up to that time had not been encouraging. Both the Wilmington and Weldon and the Raleigh and Gaston railroads

[20]Report of the Directors of the North Carolina Railroad Company: Legislative Documents 1850-'51, Executive Document No. 9.

were bankrupt for the want of patronage. In the face of this fact, it was no slight achievement to raise a million dollars in North Carolina for another similar enterprise. Yet this is the task to which Governor Morehead now set himself. On June 15, 1849, he presided over a great Internal Improvements Convention at Salisbury at which measures, largely suggested by himself, were adopted for securing the stock.[21] Placed by this convention at the head of an executive committee to carry out these measures, he pushed them with a vigor, determination, and wisdom that aroused the enthusiasm of the whole State and inspired confidence in the enterprise. Speaking of his work at a convention held in Greensboro, November 30, 1849, in the interest of the road, the Greensboro *Patriot* declared that "the determined spirit of this distinguished gentleman touched every heart in that assembly and awoke a feeling of enthusiasm and anxiety, deep, startling, and fervent as we have ever witnessed."[22] On March 6, 1850, Morehead was able to announce to a convention at Hillsboro that only $100,000 remained to be taken to complete the private subscription, and then announced his willingness to be one of the ten men to take the balance. Nine others promptly came forward, subscribed their proportionate part, and thus ensured the building of the road.[23] "It is worthy of remark," declared Major Walter Gwyn, the eminent engineer whose skill contributed so much to the construction of the road, "that the whole amount was subscribed by individuals, without the aid of corporations, the largest subscription

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[21]This convention was attended by two hundred and twenty-five delegates from twenty-one counties and Norfolk, Virginia. Among those present were, ex-Gov. D. L. Swain, ex-Gov. W. A. Graham, ex-Gov. John M. Morehead, John W. Ellis, afterwards Governor, John A. Gilmer, Rufus Barringer, Victor Barringer, James W. Osborne, Calvin H. Wiley, Hamilton C. Jones. Morehead was unanimously elected president. The correspondent of the Raleigh *Register* wrote that the meetings of this convention "had been looked to for some time past with the most intense interest, by the friends of the Central Railroad, as determining, to a considerable extent, the probable success or failure of that enterprise." He declared that "the Convention in every respect—the numbers, intelligence and respectability of its members, its zeal and its harmony of action—was all that even the most sanguine would have desired * * * The address of the President was, in all respects, worthy the importance of the occasion and the high reputation of the man." A Committee of Thirteen was appointed "to consider of and report upon the measures to be acted on by the Convention." This committee recommended a plan, which the Convention adopted, for securing stock subscriptions and the appointment of an Executive Committee of three to carry it into effect. Morehead was made Chairman of this Executive Committee. The other members were George W. Mordecai and Dr. W. R. Holt—The Raleigh *Register*, June 23, 1849. Similar Conventions were held at Greensboro, November 29, 1849; Raleigh, December 15, 1849; Goldsboro, in January, 1850; and Hillsboro, March, 1850. At the Greensboro Convention Governor Morehead "passed a high eulogism upon Calvin Graves, of Caswell, who had given the casting vote by which this charter of the N. C. Railroad Company had been passed," and then nominated him for president. Morehead was appointed chairman of the committee on subscriptions. He reported subscriptions of $190,800. John A. Gilmer suggested that one hundred men come forward to take the balance in equal parts. Morehead headed the list, but the requisite number was not secured. After several addresses had been delivered, Morehead rose and said "that as the speaking seemed to be over, he reckoned we had as well get to work now, and take the remainder of the stock." As only fifty-one men had taken up Mr. Gilmer's suggestion, Morehead agreed to double his subscription, if the others would. The proposition, however, was not accepted.—Raleigh *Star*, December 5, 1849. On December 15, Morehead addressed the Convention at Raleigh at which about $40,000 of stock was subscribed. He was also at the Goldsboro Convention. At the Hillsboro Convention the subscription was completed, and a meeting of the stockholders called to be held at Salisbury, to organize the company.

[22]Quoted in the Raleigh *Star*, December 5, 1849.

[23]The others were George W. Mordecai, of Wake; John W. Thomas, of Davidson; Dr. (Edmund) Strudwick, of Orange; Paul Cameron, of Orange; William Boylan, of Wake; Alonzo T. Jerkins, of Craven; Dr. A. J. DeRosset, of New Hanover; Giles Mebane, of Alamance; and a group of ten individuals in Orange who subscribed the last ten thousand.—Raleigh *Star*, March 20, 1850.

thus made to any public improvement in the Southern country." The editor of the Raleigh *Star*,[24] announced the completion of the private subscription with the following comments:

> We must be permitted to remark that the State owes much to that sterling man, Governor Morehead, for success in this enterprise; and that he who has heretofore been styled a "wheel horse" in this matter, may be justly entitled to the appellation of a "whole team." Whilst we pen these hasty lines, the deep-mouthed cannon is pealing forth from Union Square commemorative of this great deed for North Carolina. We are not of a very excitable disposition, but we must confess that it makes our blood run quicker at every peal, so that we can scarcely restrain ourselves from responding to its notes, "Huzza! Huzza! for the railroad."

On July 11, 1850, the private stockholders met at Salisbury and organized the company.[25] The board of directors unanimously elected John M. Morehead president. He was continuously reëlected president until 1855, when declining further election he was succeeded by Charles F. Fisher. During these five years of President Morehead's administration the North Carolina Railroad, truly described as "the greatest of all enterprises so far attempted by the State of North Carolina in the nature of a public or internal improvement," was constructed and opened to traffic. The surveys were commenced August 21, 1850; on July 11, 1851, at Greensboro, in the presence of an immense throng, ground for the laying of the rails was broken;[26] on January 29, 1856, the road was ready for cars from Goldsboro to Charlotte, a distance of two hundred and twenty-three miles. In his last report to the board of directors, Engineer Gwyn said that the breaking of ground for this railroad "may be justly regarded as an event which will ever be memorable in the annals of North Carolina—an era which marks her engaging with

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[24]March 6, 1850.

[25]The following Directors were elected: William C. Means, John B. Lord, John I. Shaver, Francis Fries, John W. Thomas, John M. Morehead, John A. Gilmer, William A. Graham, Benjamin Trollinger, Romulus M. Saunders, Armand J. DeRosset, Alonzo T. Jerkins. The Directors elected the following officers: President, John M. Morehead; Secretary-Treasurer, John U. Kirkland; Engineer, Major Walter Gwyn.

[26]This ceremony followed the regular annual meeting of the stockholders. The correspondent of the Raleigh *Register* gives the following account of it:

"A crowd of people appeared, ready for the celebration, such as we may safely say was never seen in our town before for numbers. It was one universal jam all out of doors. The young gentlemen who acted as marshals had hard enough work of it, to persuade this vast and unwieldy crowd into marching shape; but they at length succeeded to a degree which at first appeared impossible. The procession was formed on West Street, the clergy in front; then the stockholders; then the Orders of Odd Fellows and Free Masons, who turned out in great numbers and in full regalia; closing with the citizens generally. This immense line moved down South Street to a point on the Railroad survey nearly opposite the Caldwell Institute building, where a space of a hundred feet each way was enclosed by a line and reserved for the ceremony of the day. The north side of this space was occupied by the ladies, whose smiles are always ready for the encouragement of every good word and work. The other three sides were soon occupied by the male portion of the assemblage, from ten to twenty deep around. You may imagine, then, the difficulty which the 'rear rank' encountered in getting a glimpse of the proceedings within.

"Having the misfortune to be among the outsiders, our situation was of course unfavorable for hearing, and seeing was impossible. But we did hear nearly every word of Governor Morehead's clear, sonorous voice, as he introduced the Hon. Calvin Graves to the vast assemblage. He did this in terms eloquent and singularly appropriate to the occasion. After alluding to the necessity so long felt by our people for an outlet to the commercial world—to the inception of the great scheme, the commencement of which we had met today to celebrate—to the vicissitudes of the charter before the two houses

earnestness in honorable competition with her sister states in the great work of internal improvement which is to raise the State to that rank which the advantages of her situation entitle her to hold," and continuing, he said:

From this memorable day, July 11, 1851, there has been no faltering or despondency; all have been united heart and hand in the great undertaking; the whole State, her entire people, catching the enthusiasm which it engendered, have come forth in their might and majesty, battling in the cause of internal improvement, those heretofore signalized as laggards now pressing forward in the front rank. * * * The contractors on the North Carolina Railroad were all stockholders, and with only two or three exceptions entirely destitute of experience in the work they undertook; they commenced their contracts very generally in January, 1852, and on the first of January, 1853, without the aid of a single dollar from the treasury of the company, but relying entirely upon their own credit and means, their united labor amounted to $500,000, which, carried to the credit of their stock subscription, fulfilled the second condition of the subscription on the part of the State and brought her in as a partner in the great enterprise. This (coupling the subscription of a million of dollars by individuals, chiefly farmers, and working out a half a million on their own resources) is an achievement unprecedented in the annals of the public works of this or any other country, and wherever known (and it ought to be published everywhere) will disabuse the public mind and vindicate the energy, enterprise and industry of the citizens of the State. I have repeatedly said publicly, and perceiving no impropriety in it, I avail myself of this occasion to say that in my experience, now exceeding thirty years, I have not found on any public work with which I have been connected a set of contractors more reliable than those with whom I have had to deal on the North Carolina Railroad, and none with whom my intercourse has been so pleasant and agreeable.

It is no small tribute to the wisdom and constructive genius of President Morehead to be able to say that, of all the contracts which, as president of the road, he had to make, the only one about which any controversy ever arose, or any charge of favoritism was ever made, was one

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of the General Assembly, and the fact that it at last hung upon the decision of the Speaker of the Senate, and that its fate was decided in the affirmative by the unfaltering 'Aye' of that Speaker, Calvin Graves,—he said that no other citizen of North Carolina could so appropriately perform the ceremony of removing the first earth in the commencement of this work on which the hopes of the State so vitally depend, as to the man who pronounced the decisive 'Aye.'

"It was impossible for us to catch the full connection of Mr. Graves' speech. Some sentences we heard, glowing with that patriotic feeling which has so long distinguished him as one of the first and best sons of old North Carolina. We could only judge generally of its effect by the waving of parasols and handkerchiefs among the ladies, and the frequent and hearty applause that arose from the inner ranks of the citizens. * * * *

"At the conclusion of Mr. Graves' speech he 'broke' ground on the Railroad by digging up and depositing in a box prepared for that purpose a few spadesful of earth.

"Governor Morehead remarked that this was deposited in the box, to remain a hundred years, and then be reopened for our inspection! The crowd laughed at the ludicrousness of the idea and so did we. But it naturally awoke a graver thought. Before a tenth of a century shall pass, we dare say that numbers of those present will see the railroad cars swiftly traversing the spot where this interesting ceremony occurred. * * * *

"The annual meeting of stockholders closed on Friday morning. Nothing of importance was done during the afternoon sitting. * * * The apprehension felt by a few that something fatal to the road would happen at this meeting was very agreeably dissipated. Conciliation and harmony, and a disposition to prosecute the enterprise with all power to a successful termination marked the proceedings."—The Raleigh *Register*, July 16, 1851.

which the State Directors, for partisan political purposes, took out of his hands and referred for settlement to a committee of their own choosing.[27]

The North Carolina Railroad was only one link in the great State system which Morehead contemplated. As he himself expressed it this system was to include "one great leading trunk line of railway from the magnificent harbor of Beaufort to the Tennessee line." Writing in 1866, he attributed the conception of this scheme to Joseph Caldwell and Judge Gaston, adding:

> Charter after charter, by the influence of these great men, was granted to effect the work, but the gigantic work was thought to be too much for the limited means the State and her citizens could then command, and the charters remain monuments of *their* wisdom and our folly, or inability to carry them out. A more successful plan it is hoped was finally adopted—to do this great work by sections. The North Carolina Railroad * * * was the first [section] undertaken.[28]

The other sections were to be built between Goldsboro and Beaufort

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[27]This controversy was an incident in one of the most memorable events in Governor Morehead's career. Before the passage of the act to charter the North Carolina Railroad Company, the people of the Central section of the State had asked the Legislature to charter a company to build a railroad from Charlotte to Danville, Va. The people of the East opposed this charter, and in 1849 its advocates accepted in its place the railroad from Charlotte to Goldsboro. Nearly ten years passed, therefore, before anything more was heard of the Danville Connection. In 1858 the advocates of the Danville Connection again brought forward their scheme, and asked for a charter for a company to build a road, without any aid from the State, to connect the North Carolina Railroad at Greensboro with the Richmond and Danville at Danville. The bill was introduced in the House of Commons in 1858 by Francis L. Simpson, of Rockingham, but everybody understood that it was in reality Governor Morehead's bill and he was its principal champion. The members from the East, supported by the Raleigh *Register* and the Raleigh *Standard*, immediately assailed the project as inimical to the interests of the North Carolina Railroad. The debate continued several days. It was participated in by some of the ablest debaters in the State, and was extended to embrace the whole subject and history of the State's policy toward railroads. Governor Morehead's administration of the affairs of the North Carolina Railroad was bitterly assailed. He was charged with mismanagement and with a breach of faith and betrayal of the interests of the State, his opponents claiming that, while soliciting subscriptions to stock in the North Carolina Railroad Company, he had expressly promised to abandon forever all advocacy of the Danville Connection. No more formidable attack, perhaps, has ever been made on any public man in the history of North Carolina. Arrayed against Morehead, besides the two newspapers mentioned, were Robert R. Bridgers, of Edgecombe; W. T. Dortch, of Wayne; Pride Jones and John W. Norwood, of Orange, and Dennis D. Ferebee, of Camden, and others scarcely less distinguished for ability. Morehead's defence is still remembered as one of the really great forensic triumphs in our history. Mr. J. S. F. Baird, who represented Buncombe County in that Legislature, and who was not of Governor Morehead's political faith, under date of April 29, 1912, writes of the contest:

"After the lapse of fifty-four years it is impossible for me to recall many of the incidents of the debate but this much I do remember, that Colonel Bridgers' attack on Governor Morehead was futile and did the Governor no harm, for he vindicated himself in the most thorough manner."

Two other members who themselves participated in the debate have left their testimony. John Kerr, of Rockingham County, said of Morehead's defence:

"Never was a more brilliant victory won than he achieved that day. His assailants were driven from all their positions, were pursued and routed, 'horse, foot and dragoons' * * * They were *strong men*, and the House felt the shock of battle while the conflict lasted. But when he closed his defence his assailants bore the air of deep dejection and discomfiture. The House was enraptured with the display of power on the part of Governor Morehead, and no further charges were heard against him." Hon. Thomas Settle said: "For a time the attack seemed overwhelming, and Governor Morehead's friends feared that he would not be able to repel it. For five days he sat and received it in silence, but when he arose and as he proceeded with his defence, friend, foe, and everybody else was struck with amazement. We could scarcely realize that any man possessed such powers of argument and eloquence. His vindication was so complete that his assailants openly acknowledged it." Mr. C. S. Wooten, who did not hear the debate but remembers the impression it created in the State at the time, says of Morehead's effort: "I know of but one other instance in American history that can parallel Morehead's fight and that was when Benton, solitary and alone, made his fight against Calhoun, Clay and Webster in favor of his resolution expunging from the records of the Senate the resolution censuring General Jackson. There never has been such another instance in the history of the State of such moral courage, such heroic firmness, and such a grand exhibition of iron nerve." In the heat of the contest the Danville Connection was almost forgotten in the attack on Morehead. The former was defeated by a strictly sectional vote; but Morehead achieved, according to all testimony, both contemporary and subsequent, a great personal triumph. The newspaper reports of the debate are too meager to give one anything like an adequate idea of the speeches on either side.

[28]Letter to the Stockholders of the North Carolina Railroad Co. Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting, July 17, 1866.

and between Salisbury and the Tennessee boundary. In accordance with this plan the Legislature, in 1853, incorporated "The Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad Company," and "The North Carolina and Western Railroad Company," to which Governor Morehead referred as "the contemplated extensions of the North Carolina Railroad." Immediately after the passage of these acts, Governor Reid ordered President Morehead and the Directors of the North Carolina Railroad to make the necessary surveys. In an open letter to the Greensboro *Patriot,* Governor Morehead said of this order:

> I desire to give this pleasing intelligence to the friends of these enterprises, through your valuable paper, with an assurance that the work will be commenced at as early a day as practicable. * * * Not a moment is to be lost. The deep, deep regret is that these extensions are not now in full progress of construction. The giant strides of improvement around us should arouse us to action. The ignominious and pusillanimous complaint that Nature has done so little for us is a libel upon the old dame. Let us see if it is not. * * * We have at the eastern terminus of one of these extensions one of the finest harbors, at Beaufort, for all commercial purposes, on the whole Atlantic coast. And if the improvements at the mouth of Cape Fear shall succeed, as it is hoped they will, we shall have another port surpassed by few, if any, in the South. * * * But it may be asked, what commerce have we to require such a port as Beaufort? Let the answer be, the commerce of the world. Look at the location of this port—placed at the end of the North Carolina coast, which projects like a promontory into the Atlantic, midway and within sight of the great line of navigation between the North and the South, and within thirty minutes' sail of the ocean. Nature made it for a stopping place of commerce—the halfway house between the North and the South; where steamers may get their supplies of anthracite, semi-bituminous and bituminous coal. * * * But let us take a western view of these extensions. The road running from Beaufort along the Central Railroad [the North Carolina Railroad] and to the Tennessee line and thence along the lines already in progress of construction to Memphis will not vary one degree from a due west course. Extend the same line westward (and I predict it will surely be done) to the city of San Francisco, which is to become the great emporium of the East India trade, and who can doubt that the trade of the Mississippi Valley, as well as that of the East Indies and China, will crowd our port.[29]

Under Morehead's supervision, the work of both the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad, and the Western North Carolina Railroad was inaugurated.[30] On June 17, 1858, the former was completed and

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[29]Raleigh *Register,* June 25, 1843.

[30]Morehead was the pioneer in developing our system of internal improvements and was the leading spirit in the building of the North Carolina Railroad. He was President for four years of the Central Road and was the Chief Contractor in building the road from Morehead City to New Bern * * * Badger was an abler lawyer, Bragg a more astute reasoner, Graham more polished and graceful, but Morehead, as a man of affairs, for broad scope and grasp of intellect, for vigor of thought, for practical common sense, for managing vast financial enterprises, was greater than either. He could stuff his pants in his boot legs, splash through the mud and build railroads while the others would rather recline in easy chairs in some cosy office and attend to their law practice, discuss literature, or talk on social topics. While building the road from New Bern to Morehead, I have seen him dressed as I have described, and his boots besmeared with the red mud of Guilford County."—C. S. Wooten.

ready for trains from Goldsboro to Beaufort Harbor; and a few months thereafter found trains running over the latter to within four miles of Morganton, while the entire route to the Tennessee line had been surveyed and partly graded. In 1866 a bill drawn in accordance with the original plan, was introduced in the Senate to consolidate these two roads and the North Carolina Railroad under the name of "The North Carolina Railroad Company." Morehead, now approaching the end of his long and useful career, strongly endorsed and supported this measure. One of his last public utterances was an appeal to the stockholders of the North Carolina Railroad Company to throw their powerful influence in favor of the consummation of the great plans for which he had given the best service of his life. After giving a brief résumé of the railroad work done in the State he said:

> Here let us pause and take a survey of what has been done in *seven* years towards this great work. From Beaufort harbor to Goldsboro the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad Company have built ninety-six miles. From Goldsboro to Charlotte you (the North Carolina Railroad) have built two hundred and twenty-three miles. From Salisbury to within four miles of Morganton the Western North Carolina Railroad have built seventy-six miles * * * making in all three hundred and ninety-five miles, from which deduct forty-three miles from Salisbury to Charlotte, and we have actually built of this great line three hundred and fifty-two miles in one continuous line. Think of it! Seven years! In the lifetime of a State or nation seven years is but as a moment in its existence. It would not cover the dawning of its existence. In the great day of a nation's improvements seven years would not be the sunrise of that day. We have done this great work in the twilight of our great day of internal improvement—a day which dawned so beautifully upon us, but which became enveloped in that gloom which shrouds the nation in mourning. But let us not despair. The day which dawned so beautifully upon us will yet reach its meridian splendor. Then let us be up and doing * * * and then the hopes, the dreams of the great and good Caldwell and Gaston will be realized. * * * You have the honor of being the pioneers in this great work executed in sections. Do yourselves now the honor to consolidate the whole and complete the original design. You, the most powerful and most independent of the three corporations, can, with much grace, propose to your sister corporations consolidations upon terms of justice and equity manifesting selfishness in naught but your name. Yield not that. The new consolidated corporation should be still "The North Carolina Railroad Company." This will be a corporation worthy of you, of your State, and of the great destinies that await it.[31]

What this great destiny was no man had foreseen so clearly as he. The traveler of 1912 along the line of the North Carolina Railroad sees the fulfilment of Morehead's dreams of 1850. He finds himself in one of the most productive regions of the new world. He traverses it from one end to the other at a speed of forty miles an hour, surrounded

[31] Letter of July 17, 1866, to the Stockholders of the North Carolina Railroad Company.

by every comfort and convenience of modern travel. He passes through a region bound together by a thousand miles of steel rails, by telegraph and telephone lines, and by nearly two thousand miles of improved country roads. He finds a population engaged not only in agriculture, but in manufacturing, in commerce, in transportation, and in a hundred other enterprises. Instead of a few old fashioned handlooms turning out annually less than $400,000 worth of "homemade" articles, he hears the hum of three hundred and sixty modern factories, operating two millions of spindles and looms by steam, water, electricity, employing more than fifty millions of capital, and sending their products to the uttermost ends of the earth. His train passes through farm lands that, since Morehead began his work, have increased six times in value, that produce annually ten times as much cotton and seventy-five times as much tobacco. From his car window instead of the four hundred and sixty-six log huts that passed for schoolhouses in 1850, with their handful of pupils, he beholds a thousand modern schoolhouses, alive with the energy and activity of one hundred thousand school children. His train carries him from Goldsboro through Raleigh, Durham, Burlington, Greenboro, High Point, Lexington, Salisbury, Concord, Charlotte,—villages that have grown into cities, old fields and cross roads that have become thriving centers of industry and culture. Better than all else, he finds himself among a people, no longer characterized by their lethargy, isolation and ignorance, but bristling with energy, alert to every opportunity, fired with the spirit of the modern world, and with their faces steadfastly set toward the future.

The foundation on which all this prosperity and progress rests is the work done by John M. Morehead or inspired by him. No well informed man can be found today in North Carolina who will dispute his primacy among the railroad builders of the State. The North Carolina Railroad, the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad, the Western North Carolina Railroad, the connecting link between the North Carolina and the Richmond and Danville railroads from Greensboro to Danville, all bear witness of his supremacy in this field. In one of the finest passages of his message to the General Assembly in 1842 he urged the building of good country roads; today there are five thousand miles of improved rural highways in North Carolina. He recommended the building of a Central Highway from Morehead City through Raleigh to the Tennessee line; today we have just witnessed the completion of a great State Highway piercing the very heart of the State almost along the very route he suggested seventy years ago. He suggested plans for extensive improvements of our rivers and harbors; today a "thirty foot channel to the sea" has become the slogan of our chief port and the National Government is

spending annually hundreds of thousands of dollars in the improvement of the Cape Fear, the Neuse, the Pamlico and other rivers of Eastern North Carolina. He urged the construction by the National Government of an inland waterway for our coastwise vessels through Pamlico Sound to Beaufort harbor; seventy years have passed since then, this enterprise has become national in its scope, the Federal Government has assumed charge of it, and the whole nation is anticipating the completion in the near future of an inland waterway from Maine through Pamlico Sound and Beaufort Harbor to Florida. First of all our statesmen Morehead realized the possibility of establishing at Beaufort a great world port; and although this dream has not yet been realized there are not lacking today men noted throughout the business world for their practical wisdom, inspired by no other purpose than commercial success, who have not hesitated to stake large fortunes on the ultimate realization of this dream also. A twentieth century statesman sent before his time into the world of the nineteenth century, Governor Morehead, as a distinguished scholar has declared, "would have been more at home in North Carolina today than would any other of our antebellum governors. He has been dead forty years, and they have been years of constant change and unceasing development. But so wide were his sympathies, so vital were his aims, so far sighted were his public policies, and so clearly did he foresee the larger North Carolina of schools, railroads and cotton mills, that he would be as truly a contemporary in the twentieth century as he was a leader in the nineteenth.[32]

[32]See sketch by C. Alphonso Smith in the "Biographical History of North Carolina," Vol. 2, pp. 250–59.

Address of Presentation

BY J. BRYAN GRIMES, CHAIRMAN OF THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is the good fortune of the North Carolina Historical Commission to be able to offer to the State a marble bust of Governor John Motley Morehead, a memorial gift from his grandsons, J. Lindsay Patterson and John Motley Morehead. Governor Morehead's career has been so ably and amply reviewed by Mr. Connor that it is unnecessary to recount his many services to his State. He was one of those remarkable men who left an indelible impression upon his people, and we should hold his memory in most grateful esteem. Far sighted beyond his time, he saw the needs of his State with seerlike wisdom, and with rare acumen he planned a great industrial commonwealth, and his popularity and power over the people enabled him to put into operation policies whose influence was far reaching and whose benefits are still accruing. Plans that might have been regarded as the dream of a visionist, under his master mind and great executive ability became realities. His administration was distinguished for the development of commerce, agriculture, the growth of the common schools and the establishment of an institution for the deaf and dumb and blind, but it was most famed for the great system of internal improvements with which his name is inseparably linked. His greatest achievement was the building of a trunk line of railroad from the mountains to the sea—from Morganton to Morehead City. He was the father of its development and was its first president.

This road is the State's greatest single financial asset, valued today at more than $7,000,000 and built without a cent of taxation of the people. The North Carolina Railroad as planned by him to connect the Mississippi with the Atlantic at Beaufort Harbor was one of the greatest projects of the middle of the last century. His heart and brain were absorbed in uniting the East with the West, establishing a community of interest and making a homogeneous people, bound together with ties of steel. Its inestimable service in acquainting the sections and unifying our people have been its greatest value to our State. Its worth can hardly be overestimated.

Mr. Joyner, to you, representing the State, I, as Chairman of the North Carolina Historical Commission, have the honor to offer a bust of this master builder and great constructive statesman, John Motley Morehead.

Address of Acceptance

BY J. Y. JOYNER, SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

To me has been assigned, in the absence of the Governor, the pleasant duty of accepting, on behalf of the State of North Carolina, this marble bust of John Motley Morehead.

"Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war." This man whose memory we are met to honor today, is *facile princeps* among North Carolina's great leaders of those silent revolutions by which alone are won the greatest victories of peace.

Father and builder of the North Carolina Railroad, pioneer manufacturer, promoter of inland waterways and public highways, successful champion of public education and of charitable institutions, able advocate of all that was best industrially, morally, and intellectually for his people, gifted with the vision and enthusiam that characterizes every truly great soul, endowed with common sense, wisdom, courage, force of character, strength of will and devotion to duty that made him a great leader and a great executive in public and private business, he has won and merited his place in North Carolina history among "the few, the immortal names that were not born to die." His bust deserves this honored niche in the Westminster Abbey of our State.

As his tongue was the first to proclaim from the granite halls of this Capitol North Carolina's declaration of commercial and industrial freedom, and to point the way thereto, may the spirit of the man, incarnate in this sculptured image, speak, trumpet-tongued, through these marble lips to the countless generations of noble youth that reverently pause before it, and hearten them for high endeavor and noble achievement.

In the name of the people of the State that he served with such distinguished ability, I now accept, with gratitude to the donors, this artistic image of one of her greatest Governors and noblest sons.